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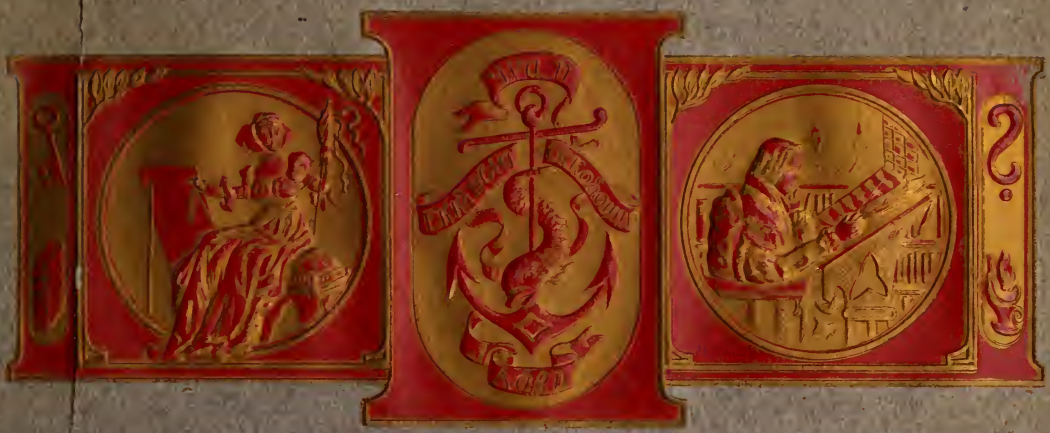

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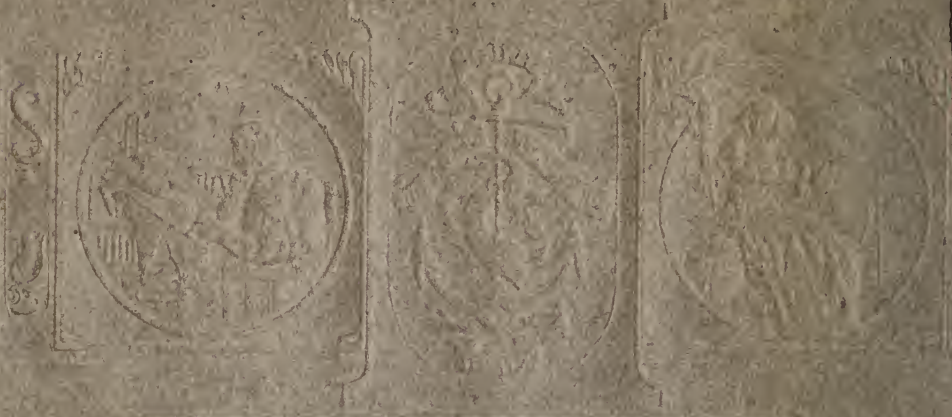

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CRITICISMS AND NOTES:

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THE DOLPHIN.

VOL. VI. NOVEMBER 1904. NO. 5

DIES IRAE.

THE following *English* version of the *Dies Irae* is a cento in trochaic 7s, collated from various authors whose translations of the selected stanzas are mentioned by Mr. Warren as among the best. The stanzas will be found under their several numerical headings in subsequent articles on the *Dies Irae* in these pages.

EDITOR.

Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvet saeclum in favilla;
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Ah that day of wrath and woe,
When the fire that seers foreknow
All the world shall overflow.
(CANON BRIGHT, author of *Athanasius.*)

Quantus tremor est futurus
Quando Judex est venturus
Cuncta stricte discussurus!

O what trembling shall appear
When His coming shall be near
Who shall all things strictly clear.
(DEAN ALFORD, 1844.)

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.

At the unearthly trump's command
Heard in graves of every land
All before the throne must stand.
(CANON BRIGHT, in *Athanasius.*)

Mors stupebit et natura,
Cum resurget creatura
Judicanti responsura.

Death shall shrink and Nature quake
When all creatures shall awake
Answer to their God to make.
(DEAN ALFORD.)

Liber scriptus proferetur
In quo totum continetur
Unde mundus judicetur.

Then the volume shall be spread
And the writing shall be read
Which shall judge the quick and dead.
(Isaac Williams, *British Magazine*, Jan., 1839.)

Judex ergo cum sedebit
Quidquid latet, apparebit;
Nil inultum remanebit.

When the Judge His place has ta'en
All things hid shall be made plain,
Nothing unavenged remain.
(Archbishop Trench.)

Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?

What shall wretched I then plead,
Who for me shall intercede,
When the righteous scarce is freed?
(Isaac Williams.)

Rex tremendae majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

King of dread, whose mercy free
Saveth those that saved shall be,
Fount of pity, pity me.
(Lord Lindsay, the late Lord of Crawford.)

Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quod sum causa tuae viae:
Ne me perdas illa die.

Jesus, 'twas my debt to pay
Thou didst wend Thy weary way;
Keep me on that dreadful day.
(*Messenger S. Heart*, England, 1875.)

Quaerens me sedisti lassus:
Redemisti crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

Weary satst Thou seeking me,
Diedst redeeming on the tree;
Not in vain such toil can be.
(Mrs. Elizabeth Charles.)

Juste judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis.

Thou just Judge of wrath severe,
Grant my sins remission here,
Ere Thy reckoning day appear.
(Dean Alford.)

Ingemisco tamquam reus:
Culpa rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

Sighs and tears my sorrow speak,
Shame and grief are on my cheek,
Mercy, mercy, Lord, I seek.
(Dr. Schaff.)

Qui Mariam absolvisti
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Thou who Mary didst forgive
And who badst the robber live,
Hope to me dost also give.
(Archbishop Trench.)

Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed tu bonus fac benigne
Ne perenne cremer igne.

Though my prayers deserve no hire,
Yet, good Lord, grant my desire,
I may 'scape eternal fire.
(*Office B. V. M.*, 1687.)

Inter oves locum praesta
Et ab hoedis me sequestra
Statuens in parte dextra.

Mid Thy sheep my place command,
From the goats far off to stand,
Set me, Lord, at Thy right hand.
(Archbishop Trench.)

Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis;
Voca me cum benedictis.

When the curst are put to shame,
Cast into devouring flame,
With the blest then call my name.
(Dr. Schaff.)

Oro supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis.

Contrite, suppliant, I pray,
Ashes on my heart I lay;
Care Thou for me in that day.
(Mrs. Charles.)

Lacrimosa dies illa
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus.
Huic ergo parce, Deus:

Full of tears the day shall prove
When from ashes rising move
To the judgment guilty men:
Spare, Thou God of mercy, then.
(Isaac Williams.)

Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eis requiem. *Amen.*

Lord, we bend to Thee for them,
Dona eis requiem.
(William Hay, 1831.)

NOTES ON THE "DIES IRAE" AND ITS ENGLISH VERSIONS.[1]

By the late C. F. S. WARREN, M.A., author of "Dies Irae," etc., and collaborator in the *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

IT is now, I suppose, considered as tolerably certain that this hymn was written by Thomas of Celano, a friend and pupil of St. Francis of Assisi, and one of the first monks of his Franciscan order of Minorites, founded A. D. 1208.

The purpose of this essay is to consider the translation of the hymn into English, and the many attempts that have been made so to translate it; and therefore little will be said on the question of its authorship and such kindred points, and at a dissertation on the nature of the composition as a whole no attempt whatever will be made. But for the sake of more completeness a few notes shall be put down from various sources on the former subject. For it is often vexatious to the reader of such an essay as this not to have before him short answers to all the questions bearing on the subject which the reading thereof may raise in his mind, such as he may not recollect at the moment, and such as he may find it wearisome there and then to rise and search out for himself.

Thomas of Celano, I said, is now generally considered as the author; though like all other celebrated writings (from the Epistle to the Hebrews downwards) whose authorship is not demonstrably certain, this hymn has been given to many; as to the great names of St. Gregory the Great, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and St. Bonaventure on the one hand, and on the other to the little ones of Latino Frangipani, known as Cardinal Malabrancia (he was a nephew of Pope Nicholas III); Cardinal Orsino; Thurston, Archbishop of York, who died 1140; Felix Hammerlein of Zurich, who will be mentioned again; Agostino Biella who died 1491, and Humbertus, a General of the Dominicans. But though the evidence cannot be here gone into, Mohnike, Daniel, and other hymnologists, are satisfied with that which gives it to Thomas of Celano, the Franciscan; dates disprove the claims of some, and internal evidence those of others.

Thomas of Celano died about 1255, and the first known mention of the hymn is by another Franciscan, Bartholomew Albizzi

[1] See Conference in present issue, "Dies Irae." (ED.)

of Pisa, 1385, in his *Liber Conformitatum*—which conformities are the conformities by stigmatization and otherwise of St. Francis to our Saviour, briefly summed up by Mr. Myers:

> "O mate of poverty, O pearl unpriced,
> O coëspoused, cotransforate with Christ!"

Bartholomew states that the hymn was even then used in the Mass for the Dead; as would be expected of a Franciscan he praises it much; as would also be expected of a Dominican, Sixtus Senensis, two hundred years after, depreciates it equally.

The first printed book in which it is found is a Missal printed at Pavia, 1491,[2] but it is not of universal occurrence till the Council of Trent inserted it—after the ancient precedent—in the Mass "in Commemoratione omnium Fidelium Defunctorum," where it forms the Sequence, follows, that is to say, the Epistle.

There can be little doubt that the original form of the hymn is the seventeen stanzas given by the Archbishop of Dublin in the *Sacred Latin Poetry* (probably at present the best known source to go to for it), beginning *Dies irae, dies illa*, and ending *Gere curam mei finis.* But in other forms of it the hymn has a new beginning and two separate new endings; and of the latter one has the authority of the Roman Missal, and is not uncommonly attached. This is the two couplets beginning *Lacrimosa dies illa*, and the "Requiem"; but whereas the hymn itself is not known before 1385, these are found much earlier,[3] and however soon they may have been added—it is *possible* that their author himself added them—it must be confessed that they spoil the close and can hardly have been part of the original composition. Mone[4] would argue from this that the hymn is founded on others and is perhaps a kind of cento; but though he does quote a few lines of it from other hymns,[5] these are not shown to be older than the *Dies Irae;* and the first line is of course a quotation—indeed a verbatim one—from the Vulgate, Soph. 1 : 15.[6]

[2] Dr. Rock in *Notes and Queries*, 1st S., ii, 105.

[3] Daniel, *Thes. Hymnol.*, v, 110.

[4] *Hymnen des Mittelalters*, i, 408.

[5] Several, for instance, are to be found in a *Psalterium de Nomine Jesu*, Mone, i, 343.

[6] "That day is a day of wrath." Perhaps it is well to keep this word *wrath* in a version, for the sake of following the prophet as Thomas of Celano did.

But if these spoil the close, much more does the other ending, whose origin is pretty well known; it is the production of Felix Hammerlein, a priest of Zurich (who died about 1457), and consists of third lines added to these couplets, without the "Requiem" and five more very unnecessary stanzas to wind up; which may be found in Dr. Coles. Daniel, not stating why, gives but the first three of them, in which the only thing worthy of much notice seems to be the introduction of the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary as an observation—not improbably one, perhaps a chief, reason for its writing—

> "Vitam meam fac felicem
> Propter tuam genitricem
> Jesse Florem et radicem,"

and the application to her of the title of "root of Jesse;" other instances of this may be found in Mone, ii, 308, 309.

The "new beginning," as I call it, is of less certain origin; it is what is called the "Mantuan marble," a copy of the hymn said to be engraved in the church of St. Francis at Mantua, starting with four stanzas before *Dies Irae*. But the church is much younger than the date of the hymn, there is no evidence of the date of the engraving, and Daniel even hints doubts of its existence at all; while from other sources the extra stanzas cannot be traced higher than 1594. The Mantuan marble also gives a new last stanza;[7] both this version and Hammerlein's may be found in Daniel; and furthermore there are other various readings in different editions of the hymn, of which all of any importance—these are not more than two or three—will be mentioned in their proper places hereafter.

Now then to the more immediate object of this essay, the English versions of the hymn. I have collected, by the kind help of correspondents of *Notes and Queries* and the *Athenæum*, ninety-seven[8] complete versions in the English language—practically, that, is complete, for two are deficient in one stanza; and two pro-

[7] Dean Stanley appears to have considered the "Mantuan" version as the authorized one; using in his introduction to his translation (*Macmillan's Magazine*, Dec., 1868), words to the effect that "in the Missal one-third of the original is left out."

[8] A remarkably full collection of versions for the period at which Mr. Warren made his analytic study of renderings into English. (ED.)

fessed fragments, the well-known one of Sir Walter Scott, and one by Dr. Kynaston; besides one stray rendering of the first verse only. Of these the great majority are in rhyming triplets; these again subdivide into three classes:

1. The trochaic eight-syllable triplet, exactly imitating the original.

2. The trochaic seven-syllable triplet, which imitates the original except in putting a single for a double.

3. The iambic eight-syllable triplet, single-rhymed of course, which varies somewhat from the original; but granting—which of course must be granted—the triplets, it is in my mind its best English representative.

Of the other versions some are in triplets, but in singular variations, one in iambic 8 8 10, one in trochaic eights with the third line rhymeless, and one in trochaic eights with the rhyme so irregular that I can find no principle in it, neither give of it any account; and one of the same with no rhyme at all. Of the remaining eleven versions, six are in couplets; three being in trochaic sevens, one in trochaic eights, and two in iambic eights; while of the last five, one is in 7 6 7 6, and the others in such as used to be called "peculiar measures," two in 8 8 6 8 8 6, one in 7 7 8 7 7 8, and the final one (most peculiar of all) in 6 6 6 5 6 6 6 5.

The first known English versions date from the early part of the seventeenth century: the first of all I believe to be Joshua Sylvester's (d. 1618). It is that which I have just mentioned in 7 7 8 7 7 8, and may be found in his translation of Du Bartas, 1621, p. 1214, or 1633, p. 620, entitled "A Holy Preparation to a Joyful Resurrection." There was another edition of Du Bartas, 1644 (Allibone), but there is no modern reprint of Sylvester as a whole, though some smaller poems are in Sir Egerton Brydges' *Restituta*, this not among them.

The next version,[9] about or soon after the same time, is William Drummond's of Hawthornden, among his translations of twenty-one of the best known Latin hymns. It may be found in "The

[9] The list of versions contributed by Mr. Warren to the London *Athenæum*, July 26, 1890, places Drummond's version fourth in chronological order, the second place being given to Crashaw (1646), the third to Patrick Carey (1651), while Drummond's is listed as 1656. (ED.)

Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, edited by William B. Turnbull, London. J. B. Smith, Soho Square, 1856," at page 266 among the Posthumous Poems, which were " extracted (preface, page xii) from the Hawthornden MSS. preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and originally selected and printed with a valuable memoir and notices by Mr. David Laing in the fourth volume of the Transactions of that body." It may also be found in Anderson's Poets, IV, 682; but in Peter Cunningham's reprint, 1833, of what he called " the whole of Drummond's poems worth preserving," it does not appear.

These two versions—Sylvester's and Drummond's—are remarkable, as they follow the " Mantuan marble."

They were succeeded by Richard Crashaw, whose version or rather paraphrase, in the *Steps to the Temple*, 1646 (called " In Meditation of the Day of Judgment "), is an exceedingly fine poem in couplets, of four-line stanzas.[10] An Advent hymn abridged from it was published by the Rev. Charles Warren in the *Journal of Convocation* for December, 1854 (I, 102), and afterward used in a small collection of hymns privately printed by him—before the days of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and kindred books —for the use of the parish which he held for thirty-three years. Crashaw was followed by Patrick Carey; then by " Rosarists."[11]

In the same century are also an anonymous version in an Office of the B.V.M., London, Hy. Hills, 1687, which the kindness of Mr. Loftie has enabled me to procure, reprinted in " A Manual of Devout Prayers and other Christian Devotions, 1706, corrected from the errors of former editions,"[12] another remarkable and little known one attached to " A Paraphrase in English[13] on the Following of Christ written originally in Latin by Thomas à Kempis 1694," which is in rhyming triplets of 8 8 10; and Lord Ros-

[10] Of this it is said in Wilmott's *Lives of English Sacred Poets*, p. 317 (London, ed. 1839), " To style Crashaw's poem a translation is scarcely to render justice to its merits; he has expanded the original outline, brightened the coloring, and enlivened the expression."

[11] See *Dublin Review*, Jan., 1883, p. 59. (ED.)

[12] No name of author, editor, printer or place.

[13] Verse.

common's[14] (d. 1684), first published in 1721,[15] which has been several times reprinted, as in "The Divine Office, 1763," and is partly inserted in the hymn books of Hall and the senior Bickersteth. Its last two lines were the latest words on its author's lips (Johnson's Life); he is noted as the purest among Charles II's impure poets,[16] and his version is good, though sometimes not very literal.

In 1656 Bishop Taylor writes to John Evelyn,[17] asking him for a translation; but if it was ever done this has not been found.

It is worthy of note as an indication of the spirit of the time that within my knowledge no single version dates from the eighteenth century (at least till its very close),[18] and the hymn appears to be more or less disregarded; it is told of Dr. Johnson that he could not repeat *Tantus labor non sit cassus* without weeping; but it is probable that except to scholars such as he was, the hymn was little known. Interest in it seems to have been revived toward the close of that century and the beginning of the present, in Germany by Goethe's introduction of it into *Faust* and Justin Kerner's into *Die Wahnsinnigen Brüder;* and in England by Sir Walter Scott's into the *Last Minstrel* (first published 1805)—

> "While the pealing organ rung
> Thus the holy fathers sung—"

and his fragment, imperfect as it is, almost instantly found its way

[14] Mr. Shipley thinks the version attributed to Roscommon should rather be given to Dryden. (ED.)

[15] The version appeared previously in *Miscellanea Sacra* (1696). (ED.)

[16] Bishop Ken's opinion of these poets is no doubt given in the lines:

> "Of all the gifts which heaven designed
> To hallow and adorn the mind,
> Sweet poetry has suffered most
> By bards from the infernal coast,
> Who in her beauteous visage spit
> The putrefaction of their wit." (Twentieth Sunday after Trinity);

and the two passages in which Pope's good opinion of Roscommon is given are, or more probably were, better known: Essay on Criticism, 726; Horace (II Epp. 1), 213.

[17] Heber's Ed. I, lvi.

[18] Mr. Warren amended this statement in the *Athenæum* list, which mentions a version in 1754 and another in 1780, the first in Bona Mors, the second in Office for the Dead, both versions being anonymous. (ED.)

into sacred anthologies and then into hymn books down to *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and Novello's Hymnary. The Rev. Louis Coutier Biggs says of it[19] that it "has more of the spirit and tone of an English hymn than most of the more literal translations," which is true not of course altogether because it is Scott's, but because it is a paraphrase, and it is perhaps easier to give that spirit and tone to a paraphrase than to a more literal version. Though if Scott had been a more exact Latinist than he was and had had some knowledge of theological language, he might probably have made as good a version as can well be done. Of him as of Lord Roscommon it is related that the hymn soothed his death-bed—"we very often heard distinctly the cadence of the *Dies Irae*."[20]

There is an anonymous version in the old monthly *Christian Remembrancer*, vii, 315, which is in some respects good; Lord Macaulay published his fine version (trochaic seven-syllable couplets) in the *Christian Observer*, 1826, though it was not again published till after his death; there is another in the same metre, too wordy, but here and there striking, by William Hay, Esq., in the *Bengal Annual*, Calcutta, 1831; and in the same year Dr. Husenbeth put forth a version in "peculiar metre" in the *Missal for the Laity*.[21]

With these exceptions, so far as I know, the present crowd of modern versions dates from the Oxford Movement of 1833, and begins, I believe, with Chandler's version in the *Hymns of the Primitive Church*, 1837, which appears to be the earliest in the trochaic eights, the exact imitation of the original. He was followed by Isaac Williams (*Lyra Ecclesiastica*), Caswall (*Lyra Catholica*), Alford, and Irons, 1848; this last version is now the best known from its insertion in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. But its notoriety is rather unlucky, since it cannot be called one of the best; and it is to be regretted that the compilers did not rather choose Isaac Williams or Chandler, if they must needs have the original double rhymes.

Among versions more modern still, some of the better known

[19] *English Hymnology*, p. 9.

[20] *Lockhart's Life*, vii, 391.

[21] London: Joseph Booker, 31 New Bond Street.

names are Dr. F. G. Lee (*Poems*, 1850), P. S. Worsley,[22] Archbishop Trench (first published in Mr. Fosbery's *Hymns for the Sick*), Dr. Schaff (*Christ in Song*, 1869; he has also made a German version), Lord Lindsay (*Christian Art*, i, ccvii) and Dean Stanley (*Macmillan's*, Dec., 1868); a supposed version by Dean Hook I have, though with his son's kind help, been unable to trace.

So far at this moment for versions of English nationality; of Scotch ones I have only seen two; that in the *United Presbyterian Hymnal*[23] is by Dr. William Robertson, and there is another by Dr. Hamilton Magill in his *Songs of the Christian Creed and Life*. They are perhaps fair ordinary ones, but not excellent; neither, as far as I can see, is there the least choice between them.

Under the head of Irish versions it may be noted, as many Roman Catholic versions belong to that country, that among these some of the best are to be found. It cannot, I think, be denied that the change of the Divine Office to the vulgar tongue for use in Anglican services has had its great share in the smaller familiarity with Latin as a spoken language exhibited by non-Catholics in England; and a Roman Catholic priest who performs such offices in Latin, or an educated Roman Catholic layman who follows their performance, can hardly fail to be more deeply penetrated with the spirit of the Latin hymns and this among them, than an Anglican who has not made them more or less of a special study. At any rate the fact is such, that some Roman Catholic versions are the best; and in the same way there is no doubt that among Anglican versions those produced by Anglicans are as a rule superior to the productions of those writers who hold Protestant and Puritan opinions. The reason of which seems to be not merely that Catholics are usually better scholars and probably more familiar with Latin hymns, but further that a knowledge of theological language and ideas does not usually go with Protestantism. Though—to digress for an instant—the converse of these propositions would perhaps be truer; to say, that is, that such study as I speak of generally leads men to Catholicism. A

[22] *Blackwood*, May, 1860, *Poems and Translations*, 1863.

[23] This "Church," it must be remembered, is not the Established Scotch Church.

good Roman Catholic version, for instance, was published in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, 1875:

> "Dawns the day, the day of dread,
> Fast the fires of ruin spread,
> David and the Sybil said."

But I am afraid I cannot equally commend a rather extraordinary version in the "*Manual for Sisters of Charity*," 1848, by Richard Dalton Williams, an Irish barrister now deceased:

> "Woe is the day of ire
> Shrouding the earth in fire,
> Sibyls' and David's lyre
> Dimly foretold it;
> Strictly the guilty land
> By the Avenger scanned,
> Smitten aghast shall stand
> Still to behold it."

The metre is that used by Drayton in the *Battle of Agincourt*, and Longfellow in a section of the *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (*Saga of King Olaf, xvii, King Svend*), and with its hurried gallop is but a poor substitute for the solemn Latin triplets. Two other Irish versions may be mentioned, though not Roman Catholic ones; but both are tolerable, the latter perhaps the better of the two: by Canon Macilwaine of St. Patrick's in his *Lyra Hibernica Sacra* (Belfast, 1878), one of the latest in triplets I know of; and by the Rev. Orlando Dobbin, LL.D., remarkable because I have been told by the author that he made it without having read any other in the language.

Among the American versions, of which I think I have between forty and fifty, the first place of mention, if it be only for the singularity of such an undertaking, is claimed by "*The Dies Irae in Thirteen Original Versions*, by Abraham Coles, M.D., New York, 1860." A similar book was one published in Germany; Robert Lecke in 1842 put forth "Twelve Original Versions": of whom Daniel says (ii, 121) that he "rather vomited and foamed forth versions" than did them with any skill—*magis evomuit et ebulliit versiones quam subtiliter atque artificiose effinxit!*[24] Strong

[24] Compare a curious parallel in a note of Cornelius à Lapide on Prov. 30: 1, which in English is to the effect that "they of old were called *vomiters* who spake forth a thing at the time and not by premeditated oration."

words these of Daniel, and I had rather he used them than I; but they are not without their application to Dr. Coles, since hardly more than two or three out of the thirteen are of much value; some are very paraphrastic; and one is only lost in wonder at his facility in finding rhymes. One American version by Mr. Henry Macdonald I can heartily commend—it is as good as any version that I know; General Dix's, *Scribner's Monthly*, April, 1876, though inferior is not at all bad; neither is James Ross' in "P. M." (New York *Observer*, 1864); one by R. W. L. (*The Churchman*, New York, April 3, 1880), is also very good, representing the original far better than it could have been thought the metre of 7 6 7 6 could do; as thus:—

"O day of days of anger
When earth shall pass away
And all be dust and ashes
As seer and psalmist say,
How great shall be our terror
When He our Judge shall be
Who then each deed shall measure
In strictest equity."

In the translation of the *Dies Irae*—it being a postulate that the hymn *can* be translated in any proper sense of the word—the triplets may be considered as all but necessary to be kept.[25] Some of the versions in other metres, Crashaw's most of all, are fine poems, but they are not the *Dies Irae;* the triplets are associated with the hymn in that way that such a poor representation of it as our best version after all must be, must have these to have anything of the original's peculiar character: if it have them not, it may (as I said) be a fine poem, but it cannot have the indescribable grandness and solemnity which they give to the original; cannot be in short anything near the wonderful creation which the hymn is now universally allowed to be. There are probably few who would now think with a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* thirty years ago (1st S., ii, 142) that the hymn deserves not praise either for its poetry or its piety.

But while I speak thus of what is necessary in a translation, I must not be understood to recommend by any means the keep-

[25] They are used with a somewhat similar effect by Archbishop Trench in the "Day of Death."

ing of the double rhyme: the English language, though it supplies quite enough, supplies chiefly parts of verbs, participial and others, and words in *ation* and similar endings. And of all hideous things in poetry, a superabundance of rhymes in *ation* is the most hideous:[26] how, for instance, can a man away with such lines as these?

> "Carceration, trucidation,
> Flame and axe and laceration."

Yet they are in the original form of Dr. Neale's well-known saints' day hymn, *Blessed feasts of blessed martyrs;* and another example in the same hymn is the unhappy line, *With affection's recollections*, of which it is a problem I have never been able to solve whether that be preferable, or Gerard Moultrie's *With devotion's deep emotions.* Another form of the double rhyme, the "two-word rhyme," is also not good,[27] unless perhaps where the second word is a pronoun, and thus of the nature of an enclitic; such rhymes as *chorus, o'er us*, are allowed by custom, but on the other hand such as *Sion, rely on*, do not commend themselves.

The fact is that double rhymes, unless managed with such skill which appears to be beyond everybody's power, cannot be used continuously; and this of course at once excludes them from a version of the *Dies Irae.* They should only be used in conjunction with single ones, alternately or at longer intervals, and in the middle of a line not at all; and to most writers indeed poetical instinct has shown this, for I do not know instances of their continuous use in original compositions; in translation that mistaken lust of exactly preserving the original metre has overcome poetical instinct. There is in the *Lyra Mystica*, p. 49, a translation by Dr. Kynaston of the Prayer of Hildebert to the Trinity, in 55 couplets of continuous double rhyme: no fewer than 26 are rhymed with participles. In a word, double rhymes

[26] "Don't confound the language of the nation
With longtailed words in *osity* and *ation*."—WHISTLECRAFT.

[27] It is luckily not common in the versions; though I have seen one particularly unpleasant instance of it by Dr. Crookes, of Philadelphia:

> "Then the scroll shall be unfolded
> Wherein's written *what each soul did*."

always require the utmost skill in handling. Mr. Myers in his *St. Paul* and shorter poems in the same metre has avoided their dangers as well as anybody.[28]

Speaking of them now with more particular reference to our present subject, one great mistake whereinto they cause translators to fall is that of too freely using the participle of a verb with the auxiliary instead of the verb itself; which Bishop Ellicott [29] calls a sign of grammatical degeneracy: thus it is not English to say with Dr. Irons:

> "What shall I frail man be pleading,
> Who for me be interceding,"

instead of with Isaac Williams:

> "What shall wretched I then plead,
> Who for me shall intercede;"

and worse still is this by Mr. Hoskyns Abrahall:

> "On the rocks to hide them calling,
> On the mountains to *be falling*."

Again, they lead one to translate *Rex tremendae majestatis* by *King of majesty tremendous*, which is not a good line—*tremendous* is a word which has been so used as not to represent *tremendus* at all well. But the temptation is one which it seems difficult for those who use this metre to resist; eight or nine translators, Dean Stanley included, have got the line; one merit of Dr. Coles is that he has not. Of *bad* rhymes little need be said; when you get such as *aghast are*, *faster*, and *solemn*, *column*, *volume* (W. R. Williams), you are too much aghast yourself to proceed any farther. Here again Dr. Coles deserves praise; his rhymes, though often extraordinary in their choice, are, generally speaking, good.

This question, then, between single and double rhymes may, I think, be considered settled in favor of single; but there is another—that between iambs and trochees—which is not so easy

[28] In modern Latin composition too their difficulties are seen: compare the two versions of Neale's "Art thou weary" by Mr. Gladstone with double rhymes truly, but only alternate, by Mr. Ingham Black with continuous; the former is far the better.

[29] *Aids to Faith*, p. 464.

of settling. The trochees, of course, most closely imitate the original, as no doubt do the double rhymes also; but whereas the latter are at once excluded as (so it appears to me) contrary to the habits of the English language when thus continuously used, and further extremely difficult to manage at all well; these reasons do not apply to the former, and therefore the consideration of their more closely following the original may be allowed such weight as is due to it. For myself, I do not think that very much is due; I have already granted the triplets, and I do not think it needful to grant more. In these cases the original metre should be imitated more or less closely, but not slavishly stuck to. Here the necessary imitation consists in the triplets, in other cases it may be in other things. But I do not know that there is, on the whole, much more difficulty in writing a good English *Dies Irae* in trochees than in iambs; and so, while myself preferring iambs, I should say that the question may be left in the end to the likings and powers of each translator—there are excellent versions of either kind. Some difficulties in trochees of course there are, but they are more easily avoided than those arising from double rhymes. A chief one, at least to English writers, is that of falling into an awkward inversion, as where Dr. Lee writes *Offer what can I as plea.* Another, which we do not seem to have fallen into, though it may be seen in some American versions, is that of having to dispense with a definite article; Dr. Coles, for instance, writing *Trumpet scattering sounds of wonder; Book where actions are recorded.*

My farther course will be to go through the Latin by verses, examining what may be considered necessary to make a translation as good as possible; examining also thereupon such actual translations as shall seem to be, one way or the other, worthy of examination, and tabulating, where necessary or possible, such words and expressions as the different versions use.

But before beginning thus upon the hymn, properly so called, a few words may be said upon the Mantuan marble. It has been already stated that it is far inferior to the genuine hymn, and that only Sylvester, Drummond, and Dr. Irons have adopted it as the basis of a version; Dr. Coles, though he has turned it in his preface, not placing it in his text. Of this version there is hardly

anything to be said; the two former, as might be expected, are both written in strong and forcible English; and Drummond has one extremely grand line—grand for its simplicity, magnificent for its truth. This is it:

"Dies illa, dies irae	"That day of terror, vengeance, ire,
Quam conemur praevenire	Now to prevent thou shouldst desire,
Obviamque Deo ire."	And to thy God in haste retire."

How vividly this last line expresses the rush of a faithful man to prayer under some temptation or sorrow or disappointment, when he cannot bear it by himself and hurries to lay it upon one who careth for him; when, as Charles Kingsley once said, he prays *as if the devil had him by the throat.* (*Yeast*, p. 18.) Dr. Coles' rendering is different—"*God* to meet *when He appeareth;*" but it is plain (from the second line) that the older idea is correct.[30]

COMMENT ON THE "NOTES."

THE professed purpose of Mr. Warren's essay on the *Dies Irae* is to deal solely with the versions into English of that monumental hymn. He prefaces his "Notes," however, with some account of the hymn itself, because "it is often vexatious to the reader of such an essay as this not to have before him short answers to all the questions bearing on the subject which the reading thereof may raise in his mind, such as he may not recollect at the moment, and such as he may find it wearisome there and then to rise and search out for himself." Mr. Warren obscurely suggests what Dr. Maitland openly declared in his *Dark Ages*—a fear that the busy reader of our days will not take the trouble to "see" such and such an author, such and such a work, such and such a tome and page of such and such an edition; and every reader of Maitland is grateful to him for the editorial energy that makes it unnecessary for the reader to "see" farther than the printed page before him. It is with a similar view to the convenience of readers that the present writer ventures to supplement the work of Mr. Warren. But he also thinks that the hymn is of

[30] A detailed analysis of the *Dies Irae*, by strophes, will begin in the January issue of the DOLPHIN. (ED.)

sufficient interest to Catholics to support a larger body of comment on certain of its phases, or on certain portions of its literary history, than Mr. Warren has indulged in.

I.—Authorship.

The reasons for the ascription of the hymn to Thomas of Celano are partly negative, partly positive. It has been ascribed to St. Gregory the Great († 604); but it cannot be that such a masterpiece should have lain unnoticed for so many centuries; while the rhyme and the metrical scheme also forbid such an ascription. For somewhat similar reasons the ascription to St. Bernard of Clairvaux is an unlikely one. The text is found in a Dominican Missal (in the Bodleian, Oxford), written toward the end of the fourteenth century; and thus two other suggested names are excluded, viz., Felix Haemmerlein († 1457) and Augustinus Bugellensis († 1490). Cardinal Bona in his great work on the liturgy brings together five names of the thirteenth century.[1] Of these, two were Dominicans: Cardinal Ursino († 1294), mentioned by Benedict XIV, and the Dominican Cardinal Leander Albertus; and Humbert, fifth general of the Dominicans († 1276), mentioned by the Jesuit Possevino as the author. Attempts are made to show that a Dominican authorship is very improbable. Thus the Presbyterian Dr. Thompson, editor of Duffield's *Latin Hymns*, thinks "the Dies Irae is a Franciscan, not a Dominican poem. It deals with the practical and the devotional, not the doctrinal elements in religion. Had a Dominican written it, he would have been anxious only for correct doctrinal statement." It is somewhat curious, in this connection, to recall that Ozanam, in his history of the Franciscan poets in Italy, ascribes the poem to Innocent III († 1216). Internal evidence of this kind is not entirely trustworthy, and a stronger argument is found in a Dominican prohibition of the poem in Requiem Masses as unrubrical

[1] Leander Albertus Cardinali Ursino, ordinis Praedicatorum, adscribit; Lucas Waddingus Thomae de Celano, ordinis Minorum; alii apud eundem Waddingum S. Bonaventurae vel Matthaeo Aquaspartano, Minorum Cardinali. Possevinus in appar. sacro tribui ait Augustino Bugellensi Pedemontano, ord. S. Augustini, subdens ibidem, verum auctorem esse Umbertum, Vic. Gen. ordinis Praedicatorum.—*De Reb. Lit.*, lib. II, cap. vi.

(Salamanca, 1576). Sixtus Senensis, a Dominican writer († 1569) refers in his *Bibliotheca Sacra* to the hymn as an "uncouth poem": "Haec Augustinus, ad cujus sententiam perspexisse videtur auctor ejus *inconditi rhythmi* quem ecclesia in sacris defunctorum mysteriis decantat: Liber scriptus proferetur, in quo totum continetur, Unde mundus judicetur." Whereupon Julian, echoing Daniel,[2] remarks that "this points to a Franciscan origin; the old rivalry between the Franciscans and Dominicans, as is well known, was very great. Hence this writer's hostility furnishes a substantial argument." The force of these arguments is impaired, however, by the fact that the oldest known source for the text of the poem is a Dominican Missal written about the close of the fourteenth century; and while its most frequent use is found in Franciscan Missals, it is also found in the Dominican processional, Venice, 1494, and the Dominican Missal, Venice, 1496.

Among the Franciscan claimants, preference is given to Thomas of Celano, for the reason that he is considered to be the author of two Sequences in honor of St. Francis (*Fregit victor virtualis* and *Sanctitatis nova signa*), and there is therefore nothing improbable in such an ascription of authorship; and for the further reason that the earliest mention of the hymn is that made by the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Pisanus, who in his *Liber Conformitatum* (1385) remarks that the Prose in the Mass for the Dead "is said to have been composed by Brother Thomas of Celano." As has just been noted, the *Liber Conformitatum* was written in 1385. In Duffield's *Latin Hymns*, the editor (who contends with much zeal for the ascription to Thomas of Celano) bases his strongest argument on a curious mistake in the date of the *Liber*, which he writes, in the three places where he refers to it, "1285": "Thomas's claim to its authorship," he says, "does not rest on the weakness of rival pretensions. In the year 1285, when Thomas had been dead about thirty years and Dante was twenty years old, the Franciscan Bartholomew of Pisa wrote his *Liber Conformitatum*, in which he drew a labored parallel between the life of Francis of Assisi and that of our Lord. Having occasion to speak of Celano in this work, he goes on to describe it as 'the place

[2] "Habes pro hac sententia . . . vituperium Sixti Senensis, quod odio Praedicatorum in fratres Minores bene congruere videtur." II, p. 115.

whence came Brother Thomas, who by order of the Pope wrote in polished speech the first legend of St. Francis, and is said to have composed the prose which is sung in the Mass for the Dead: *Dies irae, dies illa.*' This testimony out of Thomas's own century is confirmed by . . ." The citation of the *Liber*, even in its correct date of 1385, is a strong argument, for it is the earliest source known for a mention and ascription of the poem; but it is needless to point out that its value would be so enormously increased if it but dated one century earlier, as to constitute it an almost irrefutable argument for the ascription which it makes.

Finally, all the editors refer to Luke Wadding, the Franciscan, who in his *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome, 1650) ascribes the poem to Thomas of Celano, although he also mentions the ascription by others to St. Bonaventure and Matthew of Acqua-Sparta, both Franciscans.

From all this we infer that the poem was written in the thirteenth century—"the most interesting century in the history of Christendom;" that it was of Italian origin, inasmuch as its earliest use was Italian and also because of its "peculiar three-line stanza, which approximates to the *terza-rima* structure of their poetry, but is not found in poetry of the Northern nations, except in later imitation" (Dr. Thompson); that its author was probably a Franciscan; that amongst all the names suggested for the high honor of its authorship, that of Brother Thomas of Celano, the friend and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi, presents the most acceptable grounds for an ascription.

II.—Sequences or Proses.

With respect to the meaning of the word "Sequence," Mr. Warren's implied explanation is not happy. In the Mass *in Commemoratione omnium Fidelium* the *Dies Irae*, he says, "forms the Sequence; follows, that is to say, the Epistle." It is true that it "follows the Epistle," but not immediately; nor is that fact the reason why it is called "Sequence." The Epistle is followed, in Festivals, by the Gradual, which, in turn, is followed by Alleluias and a verse of a psalm with an added Alleluia, or (as in Septuagesima time) by the Tract. In Paschal time the Gradual is omitted, and only the Alleluias and psalm-verse, fol-

lowed by an Alleluia and another verse, are sung. Anciently, the Alleluia, whensoever it occurred after the Gradual, closed in a long series of notes or continued melody, to which only the final vowel of Alleluia was sung. This prolongation was called "sequentia," or sequence. "Later on, however, words appropriate to the Festival were supplied to this protracted chant, to which the name Sequence was restricted. . . . By degrees every Sunday and Festival had its proper Sequence, until the correction of the Missal, when only four were retained in use."[3] Pre-Tridentine missals have as many as one hundred such; but the general reform of the Missal ordered by Pius V eliminated all but the four most beautiful. These are: *Victimae paschali laudes* of Wipo (eleventh century), for Easter; the "Golden Sequence," *Veni sancte Spiritus*, attributed with most probability to Innocent III, for Pentecost; *Lauda Sion*, of the Angelic Doctor, for Corpus Christi; (*Stabat mater dolorosa*, of Jacopone, added to the Missal about 1727, for the Seven Dolors B. V. M.); and finally the *Dies Irae*, which, however, should scarce be classed with the other four, as it occurs in the Mass for the Dead, which has no Alleluia, and therefore should not in strictness be styled "Sequence." In mediæval Latin the words *sequentia* and *prosa* were practically interchangeable; the sequence being styled *prose*, either because the earlier attempts at sequence-composition were unmetrical, although somewhat rhythmical in character (and therefore to be discriminated from the strict *hymni*), or because, as Mr. Rockstro suggests, the rhymed *rhythmus* was not considered technically a *hymnus*, as it had not classical metre. The former explanation of *prosa*, which is the more common one, is probably the more correct; for Notker Balbulus, the first who adapted words to the alleluiatic neumes, wrote his sequences in rhythms of unequal extent, fitting them word for note to the neumes.

III.—Liturgical Use.

It is very probable that the *Dies Irae* was composed as a sequence for the first Sunday in Advent. "En effet, cette Prose roule en entier sur le jugement dernier, excepté l'invocation *Pie*

[3] Amberger: *Pastoraltheologie*, Vol. II.

Jesu, qui y a été manifestement ajoutée, lorsqu'on l'adapta pour les morts."[4] The seventeen stanzas of the Roman Missal text no doubt constitute the original form of the poem as composed by Thomas of Celano; while the remaining six lines—

Lacrimosa dies illa,
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus.
Huic ergo parce, Deus!
Pie Jesu Domine
Dona eis requiem

—were perhaps added to the hymn to make it suitable for a Requiem Mass. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that Mone[5] found in a Reichenau manuscript of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century a long series of verses or antiphons for a funeral service, containing this verse:

Lacrimosa dies illa,
qua resurget ex favilla
judicandus homo reus;
tu peccatis parce deus.

He found also[6] in a Karlsruhe MS. of the fourteenth century these lines:

Lacrimosa dies illa,
qua resurgens ex favilla
homo reus judicandus,
justus autem coronandus.

Mone points out that these verses antedate the composition of the *Dies Irae*, one of them being of the twelfth century or early thirteenth, while both are evidently derived from some common type not yet discovered. Daniel (Vol. V, p. 110) considers such foreshadowings, as collected by Mone, of the *Dies Irae*, "consideratione dignissimas." Trench, in his *Sacred Latin Poetry*, gives the Roman Missal text, with the exception of the last six lines (beginning *Lacrimosa* and ending with *requiem*); but while this represents in all probability the original text, the Missal text, with the exception of its closing couplet, is usually given in full by such editors as March, Coles, the compiler of *Seven Great*

[4] *Encyc. Theol.*, vol. *Liturgie*, col. 1054, Migne.
[5] Vol. I, p. 406. [6] I, p. 404.

Hymns, etc. March includes the last couplet (*Latin Hymns*, p. 156.)

IV.—The Latin Texts.

Mr. Warren refers to two other texts, one of which—the so-called Mantuan Marble—prefixes four stanzas of introduction to the *Dies Irae, dies illa;* while the other, the Haemmerlin text, expands the four lines of the *Lachrymosa dies illa* into six, and adds five new strophes. The Mantuan Marble text is found in an old Lutheran hymn-book of Königsberg (1650), together with a German translation and a note declaring that the old Latin rhyme was found on a crucifix ("bei einem Crucifix") in the Church of St. Francis at Mantua. Mohnike (1824) came upon it in the handwriting (dated 1676) of Charisius, burgomaster of Stralsund, with the heading: "*Meditatio Vetusta et Venusta de Novissimo Judicio quae Mantuae in aede D. Francisci in marmore legitur.*" But Daniel (II, p. 118), who plainly doubts the existence of the "marble," thinks Charisius transcribed his copy from a *Florilegium Magnum* of 1621, which contains no reference to a Mantuan marble. Mohnike, in a subsequent edition (1836), refers to the *Variorum in Europa Itinerum Deliciae* (first edition, 1594) of Nathan Chytraeus, who gives the text with the simple remark that he found it among the inscriptions in the Church of St. Francis at Mantua. Mr. Warren contributed a long and interesting note on the subject to Mr. Shipley's article in the *Dublin Review* (April, 1883, pp. 374–377); and both hymnologists add a common note on the subject to the same *Review* (July, 1883, p. 243) correcting some points of the essay. We shall transcribe merely two paragraphs from Mr. Warren's remarks in the *Review* (April, 1883, p. 375):

"Father Narcisso Bonazzi, Maestro di Capella to the Bishop of Mantua, has, upon application, most obligingly written to this effect: That the Church and Convent of St. Francis were suppressed in 1797 (the year of the French occupation of Mantua); that in 1811 the church was desecrated and the convent was turned into a military arsenal; and that no trace of the slab can now be found, neither in the churches to which the monuments of St. Francis were removed, nor in the royal or civic museums of the town.

"Whatever be the origin of the text, it seems clear that it was not from the pen of Thomas of Celano. The style, and the otiose character of the additional verses, are enough to decide this. The few authorities who have thought otherwise (though

all of them cannot, perhaps, be called so) are Mohnike, Dean Stanley (*Macmillan's Magazine*, December, 1868), and one or two American translators of the hymn."

The Mantuan Marble.

Chytraeus.	*Daniel.*
Quaeso anima fidelis,	Cogita (Quaeso) anima fidelis
Ah quid respondere velis,	Ad quid respondere velis
Christo venturo de coelis,	Christo venturo de coelis.
Cum a te poscet rationem,	Cum deposcet rationem
Ob boni omissionem,	Ob boni omissionem
Et mali commissionem?	Ob mali commissionem.
Dies illa, dies irae,	Dies illa, dies irae,
Quam conemur praevenire,	Quam conemur praevenire
Obviamque Deo ire	Obviamque Deo ire.
Seria contritione	Seria contritione
Gratiae apprehensione	Gratiae apprehensione
Vitae emendatione.	Vitae emendatione.

Then follow the first sixteen stanzas of the Roman Missal text with but a few minor discrepancies (such as "Nil incultum," Nil inultum; "venisti lassus," sedisti lassus; etc.) with the exception that "Teste David" of Chytraeus and the Missal is changed into "teste Petro" of Daniel's text. The remaining stanzas of the Missal are omitted, and the Mantuan text ends with:

Consors ut beatitatis
Vivam cum justificatis
In aevum aeternitatis.

Is Thomas of Celano responsible for these four introductory strophes? As pointed out above, Mohnike argues for such ascription, while Dean Stanley and Dr. Coles appear to share his view. But it is incredible that the man who could write the *Dies Irae* could also have produced stanzas so lacking in virility of thought and expression; so replete with halting rhythm; so guilty, within such a small compass, of elisions (Cogita, anima fidelis; Gratiae apprehensione) and hiatuses (Ob boni omissionem, Vitae emendatione, Obviamque Deo ire). The third strophe is a poor echo of the Missal's first: "ex prima Thomae misere consuta et recocta," says Daniel, who further points out that the third and fourth strophes contain but jejune expositions of doc-

trine, and seem rather to maim than to sing the language of the Schools, "terminos scholae magis claudicare quam cantare videntur." Even Dr. Coles, who in his preface gives a new English rendering of the four strophes, writes: "That the abbreviation of the poem, by the omission of the four opening stanzas, adds greatly to its general and still more to its lyric effectiveness, there can be no doubt." He continues, rather mildly, to remark that "the rejected verses, partaking of a quiet and meditative character, impair the force of the lyric element." With greater vigor of utterance the editor of *Seven Great Hymns* rejects the additions to the Missal text: "There have been stanzas prefixed to the hymn and others added; but, in its great strength, it has shaken off all such spurious additions" (7th Ed., p. 49).

This last remark leads us directly to consider the "spurious addition" known as the Haemmerlin text. Felix Haemmerlin (or Haemmerlein, Latinized into Malleolus), who died *circa* 1457, left behind him MSS. amongst which was found a copy of the *Dies Irae* with additional stanzas which were, thinks Mr. Warren, undoubtedly his own composition. They were published by Leonhard Meister, a Swiss writer, who "put forward an absurd claim for Haemmerlein to have written the whole hymn." Daniel thinks the additional verses languid and superfluous: "Nemo non videt strophis quae ecclesiasticum carmen excedunt nihil inesse nisi languorem ac priorum versuum repetitionem" (II, p. 120). For the sake of clearness, it may not be amiss to give in this place the exact text of the Roman Missal in one column, and in another the variant readings of the other texts, concluding with the Haemmerlin stanzas. It will be immediately seen that whereever a variation from the "Received" or Missal text occurs, it is to introduce but a change for the worse; and that, as Dr. Coles admits, "in its present form, all is vehement stir and movement, from the grand and startling abruptness of its opening, to the sweet and powerful pathos of its solemn and impressive close."

ROMAN MISSAL TEXT.

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla,
Teste David[1] cum Sibylla.[2]

VARIANT TEXTS.

[1] Mantuan: *Petro.* [2] The French missals (e. g., Paris, 1738; Metz, 1778) omit the third line and interpose between the first and second *Crucis expandens vexilla.*

Quantus[3] tremor est futurus
Quando judex est venturus
Cuncta stricte discussurus !

Tuba mirum spargens[4] sonum
Per sepulchra regionum
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors[5] stupebit at natura,
Cum resurget[6] creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,[7]
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

Judex ergo cum sedebit[8]
Quidquid latet apparebit,[9]
Nil inultum[10] remanebit.

Quid sum miser tunc[11] dicturus,
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix[12] justus sit securus ?

Rex tremendae majestatis,
Qui salvandos[13] salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis ![14]

Recordare, Jesu[15] pie,
Quod sum[16] causa tuae viae :
Ne me perdas illa die.

Quaerens me sedisti[17] lassus,
Redemisti crucem[18] passus :
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

Juste Judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis.

Ingemisco tanquam reus,[19]
Culpa rubet vultus meus ;
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

[3] Haemmerlin : *Tantus.*

[4] Lübeck Missal (1480) : *sparget.*

[5] Haemmerlin : *Mens stupescit.*

[6] Haemm. : *resurgit.*

[7] Haemm. : *Liber scriptus tunc docetur.*

[8] Augustinian Missal (1497) : *censebit.*

[9] Haemm. : *comparebit.*

[10] Mant. and Haemm. : *incultum.*

[11] Mant. : *tum.*

[12] Mant. : *Quum nec ;* Haemm. : *Dum vix.*

[13] Missal of Venice (1479) : *salvando.*

[14] Koenigs. G.-B. : *bonitatis.*

[15] Haemm. : *Jesum.*

[16] Mant. (Charisius) : *sim ;* Ven. Missal : *quia sum.*

[17] Mant. (Charisius) : *venisti ;* Haemm. : *fuisti.*

[18] Mant., Haemm., Lübeck Missal et al : *cruce.*

[19] Chytraeus : *vere reus.*

Qui Mariam[20] absolvisti
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meae non sunt dignae,
Sed tu bonus[21] fac benigne
Ne perenni cremer igne.

Inter oves locum praesta
Et ab hoedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.[22]

Confutatis maledictis,[23]
Flammis acribus addictis,
Voca[24] me cum benedictis.

Oro supplex et acclinis,[25]
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis.

Lacrimosa dies illa
Qua resurget ex favilla
Judicandus homo reus ·
Huic ergo parce Deus.

Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem.

(The Haemmerlin text, given in the opposite column, omits the last couplet, expands the preceding four lines into six, and adds five entirely new stanzas. *Die illa* for *dies illa* is unhappy as a change, for it creates a hiatus—something unknown throughout the text of the Roman Missal hymn. To say nothing of the languid movement of the added verses, the broken rhythm of *Esto semper adjutor meus*, and the forbidding pronunciation requisite for fitting *Sed*

[20] Metz Missal: *Peccatricem.*

[21] Haemm.: *bonas;* Chytraeus et al.: *bone.*

[22] Chyt.: *Statuens me parte;* K.G.–B: *Me loces;* Lübeck M.,: *Statuens me in parte dextra.*

[23] Haemm.: *Ne conjungar maledictis.*

[24] K. G.–B.: *Loca.*

[25] Haemm.: *a ruinis.*

At this point the Haemmerlin expansion begins, by making triplets of the *Lacrimosa* and *Judicandus* couplets.

Lacrimosa die illa
Cum resurget ex favilla,
Tanquam ignis ex scintilla,

Judicandus homo reus;
Huic ergo parce Deus,
Esto semper adjutor meus.

The Haemmerlin adds the following:

Quando coeli sunt movendi
Dies adsunt tunc tremendi,
Nullum tempus poenitendi:

Sed salvatis laeta dies
Et damnatis nulla quies
Sed daemonum effigies.

O tu Deus majestatis,
Alme candor trinitatis,
Nunc conjunge cum beatis.

daemonum effigies to any rhythmical swing, alike plead loudly against any possible ascription of these added strophes to the author—whoever he may have been—of the *Dies Irae*.)

Vitam meam fac felicem
Propter tuam genitricem,
Jesse florem et radicem.

Praesta nobis tunc levamen,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,
Ut clamemus omnes, Amen!

V.—Early English Versions.

The first known translation into English was that of Joshua Sylvester (1563–1618), a Puritan writer, translator from the French, and author of "Tobacco Battered and the Pipes Shattered by a Volley of Holy Shot Thundered from Mount Helicon." This title may not promise well for his translation (published in 1621 at the end of his translation of DuBartas' *Divine Weeks*), which, however, has the merit of being not only the first but the type for more modern imitation. Although perhaps well-known, it is not very accessible to readers, and a few stanzas from it will not be amiss in this connection. It is written in very curious metre—the first, second, fourth and fifth lines of each stanza being trochaic 7s and the third and sixth lines iambic 8s. In the first two stanzas is given a version of the Mantuan Marble's introductory four strophes—an example followed by Drummond, Dr. Irons, and Dr. Coles. The title runs:

A HOLY PREPARATION TO A JOYFUL RESURRECTION.

Deare, deare Soule, Awake, awake,
Ah! what answer wilt thou make
When Christ in glory shall appear?
When Hee comes to take Account
Of thy Sins that hourely mount,
By acting or neglecting heer.

Of that irefull Day to come
(That red dreadfull Day of Doome)
Th' affrighting Terrour to prevent,
Bleeding tears let heart distill;
Right reform thy crooked will;
But speedily Repent, Repent.

Then begins the *Dies Irae* proper, of which the first stanza will suffice for illustration:

That, That dreaded Day of Ire,
Shall dissolve the World in Fire;
As holy Prophets have foretold.
Oh! What horrour will be then,
When the Lord shall come agen,
Our deeds of Darkness to unfold!

Of Crashaw's version (in his *Steps to the Temple*, 1646)—"the earliest rendering of Dies Irae from the devotion of a Catholic"—Mr. Shipley says: "The version is rugged in character and irregular in metre, and is more of an imitation of the original than a translation; at least in some of its stanzas. It contains, however, much delicate play of thought and expression, in language and idea, and in certain parts is touchingly beautiful." Dr. Schaff, although a Protestant clergyman as well as hymnologist, declares that in strength no version compares with Crashaw's; and the editor of *Seven Great Hymns*, who prints his version among the seven translations selected for illustration, repeats the thought of Dr. Schaff, in the judgment that "no translation surpasses Crashaw's in strength, but the form of his stanza and the measure of his verse are least like those of the original." The first three stanzas will serve to show both the strength of the version and the wide limits of rendering which it vindicates to itself:

Hear'st thou, my soul, what serious things
Both the Psalm and Sibyl sings
Of a sure Judge, from whose sharp ray
The world in flames shall fly away!

O that Fire! before whose face
Heaven and earth shall find no place:
O those Eyes! whose angry light
Must be the day of that dread night.

O that Trump! whose blast shall run
An even round with th' circling sun,
And urge the murmuring graves to bring
Pale mankind forth to meet his King.

His rendering of the last stanza of the original hymn:

Oro supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis—

is not only pathetic and lovely in the extreme, but was clearly the

source of Roscommon's inspiration in the rendering of that stanza. Crashaw translates:

> O, hear a suppliant heart all crush'd,
> And crumbled into contrite dust!
> My hope, my fear—my Judge, my Friend!
> Take charge of me and of my end!

The Earl of Roscommon's version (if indeed it be his, and not Dryden's, as Mr. Shipley contends with much acuteness) translates:

> Prostrate my contrite heart I rend,—
> My God, my Father, and my Friend,
> Do nor forsake me in my end!

Besides Sylvester, Drummond of Hawthornden represents Protestant interest in the hymn, in the way of translation, in the seventeenth century; and besides Crashaw, examples of the Catholic interest are: a version in the *Rosarists' Daily Exercises* (1657); one by James Dymock, Clergyman, in the *Sacrifice of the New Law* (1687); one (anonymous) in the *Following of Christ* (1694).

The seventeenth century witnessed eight versions into English; the eighteenth—that century which, philosophizing itself into idiocy, finally "blew its brains out," as Carlyle remarks, in the French Revolution—counts only three recorded versions; and the British versions, beginning with Scott's fragment in the Lay, made in the nineteenth century, number fifteen before the year 1841—the year, that is, of the first American translation. Since that date, the activity in translation has been prodigious both in the British Isles and in America. It is to be hoped that a complete list of these may soon be compiled and published.

VI.—Metrical Forms.

Mr. Warren is nowhere more interesting than in the discussion of the question of the metrical and stanzaic form which translations should follow. Briefly, he considers (1) the rhymed triplet stanza necessary; (2) double rhymes impracticable; (3) trochaic or iambic metre a matter of taste—although he prefers iambic.

He thinks triplets a necessity for the reason that a version "must have these to have anything of the original peculiar char-

acter; if it have them not . . . it cannot have the indescribable grandness and solemnity which they give to the original; cannot, in short, be anything near that wonderful creation which the hymn is now universally allowed to be." Versions in other stanzaic forms may be, he grants, fine poems, but cannot fairly be considered translations. Sylvester's and Crashaw's versions, from which we have already drawn illustrations, were in sestet and quatrain form respectively (the latter being in reality, however, in pairs of couplets, as the rhyme shows). Sir Walter Scott's fragment is in stricter quatrain form:

That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heaven and earth shall pass away,
What hope shall be the sinner's stay,
How shall he meet that dreadful day?

Canon Husenbeth (*Missal for the Laity*, 1831) used the sestet, with varying lengths of verse:

The dreadful day, the day of ire
Shall kindle the avenging fire
Around the expiring world;
And earth, as Sybils said of old,
And as the prophet-king foretold,
Shall be in ruin hurled.

Dean Stanley (*Macmillan's Magazine*, Dec., 1868) used continuous couplets in sestet form:

Day of wrath, O dreadful day,
When this world shall pass away,
And the heavens together roll,
Shrivelling like a parched scroll,
Long foretold by saint and sage,
David's harp and Sybil's page.

So, too, Lord Macaulay (*Christian Observer*, 1826); "O" (*Christian Remembrancer*, 1825); Abrahall (*Ibid.*, 1868), who, however, has trochaic rhyming.

Dr. Coles has one of his many versions in couplets joined into quatrain form:

That day, that awful day, the last,
Result and sum of all the Past,
Great necessary day of doom,
When wrecking fires shall all consume!

A very peculiar metre for the hymn is that of R. D. Williams, (*Manual for Sisters of Charity*, 1848):

Woe is the day of ire
Shrouding the earth in fire—
Sybil's and David's lyre
Dimly foretold it—
Strictly the guilty land,
By the avenger scanned,
Smitten, aghast shall stand
Still, to behold it.

Nearly all the translations, however, are in rhymed triplets, the trochaic metre having a great preponderance over the iambic (doubtless to secure greater resemblance to the trochaic feet of the original), although a large minority of the trochaic renderings have single rhyme. The first translation into trochaic eights was that of the Rev. Joel Chandler (*Hymns of the Primitive Church*, 1837). The trochaic sevens may be illustrated by the version of Dymock (1687), and the iambic eights by that of the Rosarists (1657). Their initial stanza served as a type of rendering of the first strophe of the Latin for many other translators. Both, as has been said, are Catholic versions:

Rosarists.

That day of wrath, that dreadful day
Shall all the world in ashes lay,
As David and Sybilla say.

Dymock.

Day of wrath, that dreadful day,
Shall the world in ashes lay,
David and the Sybils say.

In a list of versions contributed to the London *Athenæum* in 1890 by Mr. Warren (comprising 86 British and 91 American) I find of triplet versions in iambic 8s, 19 British and 13 American; in trochaic 7s, 20 British and 14 American; in trochaic 8s, 29 British and 41 American. We thus have 70 versions in the exact trochaic metre of the original; 34 versions in trochaic 7s, the next nearest approach to it; and 32 in iambic 8s. As the metrical form recedes from that of the original, the number of translations decreases. And it thus appears that if "authority" have any weight as an argument, a version should be in the exact metre of the original—a view that Mr. Warren has, as we have seen, strongly combated.

In general it may be said that any translation should, as far as

possible to the genius of an alien tongue, imitate an original in its complete form. In the translation of a recognized masterpiece of literature, whose cadences have sounded in many ears through many ages, the duty of close imitation seems to be the more obligatory. In addition to this, the metre of the *Dies Irae* has not merely become, through its frequent liturgical use, a "haunting memory" in all ears; but it was singularly adapted to the emotional content of the "Hymn of the Ages." Guericke, borrowing from Fred. v. Meyer, compared the triple rhyme to blow after blow of a hammer striking, as it were, the innermost soul until it quivers with the repeated impact. "Who does not feel," asks Daniel, "how aptly the rhythm is fitted to the argument? how marvellously, like the resurgent billows of the sea, the verses beat against the ear? and, finally, what sober dignity the hymn gains from the ternary rhyming?" To him, every word in the grand hymn seems a thunderstroke—"quot sunt verba tot pondera, immo tonitrua." Dean Trench speaks of "the metre so grandly devised, of which I remember no other example, fitted though it has here shown itself for bringing out some of the noblest powers of the Latin language." Dr. W. R. Williams says: "Combining somewhat of the rhythm of classical Latin with the rhymes of the mediæval Latin, treating of a theme full of awful sublimity, and grouping together the most startling imagery of Scripture as to the last Judgment, and throwing this into yet stronger relief by the barbaric simplicity of the style in which it is set, and adding to all these its full and trumpet-like cadences . . ." Dr. Coles, a physician, appropriately compares the rhythm to the beating of the heart: "Underneath every word and syllable a living heart throbs and pulsates. The very rhythm, or that alternate elevation and depression of the voice which prosodists call the *arsis* and the *thesis*, one might almost fancy were synchronous with the contraction and the dilatation of the heart."

A more formal declaration is that of General Dix, whose version was made at Fortress Monroe during the gloomiest period of the Civil War. It is in the trochaic eights, for which he contends: "A production universally acknowledged to have no superior of its class, should be as literally rendered as the structure of the

language into which it is translated will admit. Moreover, no translation can be complete which does not conform to the original in its rhythmic quantities. The music of the *Dies Irae* is as old as the hymn, if not older; and with those who are familiar with both, they are inseparably connected in thought. To satisfy the exactions of such minds, the cadences must be the same." Morgan Dix, in his *Memoirs* of his father, gives (Vol. II, p. 236) several high appreciations of this translation (from Wilkie Collins, George Ticknor, Brantz Mayer, etc.), and among them one from Bayard Taylor, containing a pertinent observation which, as the strongly expressed conviction of a poet and translator, may be quoted in this connection: "I have always had a special admiration for the majestic poem, and have heretofore sought in vain to find an adequate translation. Those which reproduced the spirit neglected the form, and *vice versa*. There can be no higher praise for yours than to say that it preserves both. It has always been an article of my literary creed that the rhythmical character of a poem is a part of its life, and must be retained, to its nicest cadence, by the translator." Dr. Coles, eight of whose sixteen versions are in trochaic eights, admits the "difficuly involved in triplicating the double rhymes, owing to the poverty of our language in words suitable for the purpose, without practising awkward and inelegant inversions." Dr. Johnson, commenting on Young's thesis that the pleasure of rhyme arises from the sense of difficulty overcome, somewhat grimly says: "But then the writer must take care that the difficulty is overcome; that is, he must make rhyme consist with as perfect sense and expression as would be expected, if he were perfectly free from that shackle." Lowell, in the *Biglow Papers*, goes still farther when he makes Parson Wilbur counsel the young poet: "Unless one's thought pack more neatly in verse than in prose, it is wiser to refrain." Mr. Warren thinks double rhymes "extremely difficult to manage at all well," and illustrates his view with abundant quotation. The lure, nevertheless, is so powerful—as witness the large number of versions with triple trochaic rhymes—that a lover of the magical rhythm of *Dies Irae* will live in hope that the quest may not prove wholly fruitless.

H. T. Henry.

Overbrook Seminary, Pa.

He would recall the forest dense and dark, where the gray chief and gifted seer worshipped the god of thunder, whilst the full river's flowing waters filled the fresh wood with grateful melody.

Not so does the poet describe the visit of the white man whose sires upon England's pleasant shores

> Left not their churchyards unadorned with flowers
> Or blossoms; and indulgent to the strong
> And natural dread of man's last home, the grave,
> Its frost and silence—they disposed around,
> To soothe the melancholy spirit that dwelt
> Too sadly on life's close, the forms and hues
> Of vegetable beauty.

He mentions the plants that speak of a source of energy beneath the grave, symbolizing life's ways and hopes. Thus

> . . . On the infant's little bed,
> Wet at its planting with maternal tears,
> Emblem of early sweetness, early death,
> Nestled the lowly primrose.

The riper age of youth is pictured in the spot

> Where the sweet maiden, in her blossoming years,
> Cut off, was laid with streaming eyes; and hands
> That trembled as they placed her there: the rose
> Sprung modest, on bowed stalk, and better spoke
> Her graces, than the proudest monument.

A kindred antithesis, which sometimes appears like parallelism, may be discovered in such compositions on death as *The Knight's Epitaph* and *Monument Mountain; The Death of Aiathar* and *The Disinterred Warrior; "No man knoweth his grave"* and *"Blessed are they that mourn;" The Hymn to Death* and *The Burial of Love, The Two Graves* and *The Conqueror's Grave.*

But throughout these verses there ring notes of contentment with the present and hopefulness in the better future through God's mercy, which are hardly to be found in the work of models whom Cullen Bryant had at one time or other admired. Kirke White, for example, had written on immortality in his *Athanatos*, and he had written on death in *Thanatos* and other poems, but his verses were but the echoes of that discontent which finds fuller

expression in the unfinished verses on *Despair*. Our poet on the contrary loves the brighter, we should say the Catholic, views of life. Hence he was fond of the Spanish writers, as his translations from Leonardo de Argensola and from Luis Ponce de Leon, notably the latter's *The Life of the Blessed*, among his religious pieces attest. In this poem Bryant pictures "The Good Shepherd" with all his flock around him, while

> From his sweet lute flow forth
> Immortal harmonies, of power to still
> All passions born of earth,
> And draw the ardent will
> Its destiny of goodness to fulfil.

The poet sees him in the region of life and light where after death the good whose earthly toils are over rest; where neither frost nor heat may blight the vernal beauty of the fertile shores, yielding their blessed fruits for evermore. Hence he prays that he may be of that company and there hear the shepherd's sweet invitation.

> Might but a little part,
> A wandering breath of that high melody,
> Descend into my heart,
> And change it till it be
> Transformed and swallowed up, oh love, in thee!
>
> Ah! then my soul should know,
> Beloved, where thou liest at noon of day,
> And from this place of woe
> Released, should take its way
> To mingle with thy flock and never stray.

OUR "DIES IRAE" CONTRIBUTIONS.

It is now more than twenty-one years since Mr. Orby Shipley contributed to the *Dublin Review* an elaborate essay entitled "Fifty Versions of *Dies Irae*," which served both to illustrate the power exercised by the great hymn over the intellects and hearts of its many votaries and to point the way to an approximate finality in the matter of translation.

In the course of that admirable paper on comparative hymnology its author several times acknowledged indebtedness for helpful references to an unnamed friend "who contemporaneously

and unknown to him has made a far larger collection of versions than the present one—a collection which includes all the translations from America and two fresh British ones, one from the collector's own pen."[1] The author points (p. 51) to the fact that "two early renderings have been discovered by the research of another, and are left for the discoverer himself to make public,"—a reference to the same collector. Further on (p. 74) he acknowledges indebtedness "for a copy of the translated sequence contained in the edition of the *Following of Christ*, named and quoted above," to the "friend who has made *Dies Irae* a study for years." He remarks that "as this rendering will probably be published at no great interval of time, and as the credit of discovery belongs elsewhere, but a slender use of it has been made in this place." Finally, in the continuation of Mr. Shipley's paper in the April issue of the same Review, there is (pp. 374–7) a long quotation from a letter of the "friend who has made *Dies Irae* the study of years, and of whose collection of English translations—numbering considerably more than one hundred—there is now every prospect of the publication." This letter from the "friend" ends with a footnote signed "C. F. S. W."

The hope and expectation thus expressed and reiterated, that the results of the long labors of "C.F.S.W." should be published, was destined never to be realized. Although the grandeur of *Dies Irae* might well merit such a tribute, the scheme was in truth somewhat monumental in character; for a collection of "considerably more than one hundred" translations would have made a volume of no mean dimensions. Besides this difficulty of publication, such a collection must contain not a little dross mixed with the pure gold; and, withal, would in a few years be very much out of date, as would be seen immediately by glancing at the table of English and American versions published by "C.F.S.W." in the London *Athenæum*, July 26, 1890. That indefatigable gleaner had, in the less than eight years separating the appearance of Mr. Shipley's article in the *Dublin Review* from that of the *Athenæum* tabulation, been able to swell his list from "considerably more than one hundred" to one hundred and fifty-five. More anon of this excellent list published by Mr. C. F. S. Warren in the

[1] *Dublin Review*, Jan., 1883, p. 54.

Athenæum. Needless to say, many translations have appeared since that date, while it is fair to surmise that a comparison of this list with the table given in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, as also with the bibliography of *Dies Irae* in English version, compiled by Mr. John Edmands, the librarian of the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, and issued in 1884, would discover some few translations passed over by one or other collector. It is our hope to make such a detailed comparison, and to bring the tabulation down to date, should leisure and the kind assistance of correspondents permit. Meanwhile, however, it is pleasant to reflect that while the growing list of translators makes a complete collection of versions into English a practical impossibility for any publisher, there have not been wanting to the ardent lover of *Dies Irae* volumes which have found it possible to include several of the most noted renderings. Everybody is aware of the unique volume in which Dr. Coles, a physician of Newark, presented to the public no less than thirteen versions from his own pen. Of these, the first six were written in triplets of trochaic eights, thus imitating exactly the metre of the original Latin; the succeeding five, in triplets of trochaic sevens; the twelfth, in triplets of iambic eights, and the thirteenth, in quatrains of iambic eights. The volume appeared in 1859 and soon passed into its fifth edition. In 1868 appeared *The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediæval Church*, containing eight renderings of the hymn by various authors. In 1892, Mr. W. Stryker published three of his own versions in a little volume. All of these volumes contained the Latin text as found in the Roman Missal, while Dr. Coles added the texts known as the "Mantuan marble" and "Haemmerlin" texts.

The table given in the *Dictionary of Hymnology* (referred to above) was compiled by Mr. Warren and Mr. W. T. Brooke. While the *Dictionary* bears the date of 1892, and the table published by Mr. Warren in the *Athenæum* bears the date of 1890, the earlier date represents a later revision of the table, as the first pages of the *Dictionary* passed through the press some ten years before the final appearance of the completed work.

The finest gains of a comparative study of English versions of the hymn are to be found, however, not in a volume of com-

plete translations (which must of necessity be few in number at the best), but by comparing selected stanzas from the better versions with a view of perfecting the good, and by comparing these with poorer selections with a view of indicating what to avoid in translation. In this field of comparative hymnology, Dr. Schaff (in the magazine *Hours at Home*, in two issues, 1868); Mr. Shipley (in the article already referred to, in the *Dublin Review* for January and April, 1883); and Mr. Warren (in the Manuscript volume which will appear serially in THE DOLPHIN) have labored with much success, each in a different way. While Mr. Shipley selected fifty versions for analysis, Mr. Warren considered no less than ninety-seven, which must be acknowledged to have been a very complete list for the date at which he made his analysis (1882.) While Mr. Shipley's endeavor was to construct ideal versions by selection of typical and excellent strophes from his collection of renderings, Mr. Warren considered separately the difficulties of strophe after strophe in the original Latin, illustrated these difficulties from the English versions, and by approval of some and condemnation of others, practically pointed the way to a single ideal version of the great hymn.

The first installment of Mr. Warren's essay appears in the present issue of THE DOLPHIN, and forms an introduction to the more detailed analysis which is to appear serially in the succeeding issues.

NEW INDULGENCES.

INVOCATION TO THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS AT THE END OF MASS.

The Holy Father has granted a special Indulgence (7 yrs and 7 quadr.) for the devout recitation of the ejaculatory: *Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us!* This invocation is to be repeated thrice after the prayers recited at the end of Low Masses by the priest and congregation. The Indulgence is applicable to the souls departed. (S. C. I., June 17, 1904. *Cf.* THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for the text of the document.)

Criticisms and Notes.

IDEALS OF SCIENCE AND FAITH. Essays by various authors. Edited by the Rev. J. E. Hand (Editor of Good Citizenship). New York: Longmans, Green & Co.; London: George Allen. 1904. Pp. 333.

I.

Although the writers of these Essays on Science and Religion express their views from widely different standpoints and quite independently of each other in thought and treatment, the symposium is more than an attempt to present merely a group of articles upon a common theme. It is professedly an expression of the aspirations of leading minds to combine scientific and religious activity toward the realization of man's highest ideals. These ideals make for enjoyment, but enjoyment which is at the same time action. "Let the religious become scientific, and the scientific religious; then there may be peace. But the only true peace is active peace, constructive peace." It is then for the purpose of formulating these aspirations from the scientific and the religious points of view, that men of different schools, different spheres of scientific activity and religious conviction, are called upon to state some definite proposition in their own field of action, which is to be elucidated and defended, with the purpose of drawing a clearer distinction than has in the opinion of the editor been hitherto done between the elemental sense of things from the standpoint of observational science, and their widest *significance* "from the highest standpoint of man's mental, moral, social, religious evolution" (Introd. xviii). Thus the compiler hopes that the pretended antagonism between religion and science will at least in great part disappear through the recognition that the ideals common to both are "not only numerous, but are indeed the very ideals for which the nobler spirits on both sides care most." The book before us is therefore intended as a sort of suggestive programme for a coöperative campaign on behalf of the ideals common to both the theological and scientific thought of the day. The different writers are selected from among the best representatives of various fields of scientific and religious

[5] *Purgatory*, pp. 118, 119.

NOTES ON THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE "DIES IRAE."

Stanzas I–III.

By the late C. F. S. Warren, M.A.

AS has been already announced in these pages, The Dolphin has obtained from Mr. Orby Shipley, the veteran Catholic hymnologist, who has recently become the literary heir of Mr. Warren, the copy of Mr. Warren's MS. work on the English versions of the *Dies Irae*. This MS. was subsequently enlarged by its author to include additional quotations from recent translations of the hymn, and formed thus the basis of his published volume. Instead of enlarging the MS. work as Mr. Warren thought proper to do for the sake of completeness, it is proposed, in this issue and the following issues of The Dolphin, to condense it into narrower limits by omitting much of the illustration borrowed from the vast number of English versions of the hymn, and retaining almost exclusively the valuable lessons to be derived from a study of those versions. Despite the great industry of translators of the hymn, it is evident that there is still room for the conscientious and cultivated labors of those who would desire to see it rendered adequately into English verse; and perhaps one of the best means to such an end is the study of the faults into which previous translators have fallen. While Mr. Warren discusses this phase of the *Dies Irae*, the Rev. Dr. Henry, in his accompanying articles, discusses the more general phases of the literary history of the Hymn. It is thus planned, within the limits of these papers, to furnish our readers with a conspectus of the *Dies Irae* which shall satisfy all the lovers of "the greatest of all uninspired hymns." The hymn naturally divides itself into two parts: the "epic" or descriptive stanzas (i–vi) and the "lyric" (vii–xvii). The remaining six lines, beginning with *Lacrimosa dies illa*, are evidently not a part of the original poem, comprising as they do two rhymed and one unrhymed couplet, while the hymn is written exclusively in triplets. In the present issue of The Dolphin the first three stanzas will be treated; and in the following issues the remainder of the hymn.—Editor.

The Hymn.

1. Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvet saeclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla.

The Sibyl quoted in the third line is supposed by Mohnike to be the Erythræan in those well-known lines ("Orac. Sib.," viii, 216 *et seq.*) forming the acrostic Ἰχθυς on the name of our Saviour. Eusebius gives the Greek original in the "Constantini Oratio," chap. xviii, and St. Augustine has them partly in Latin in the "Civitas Dei," xviii, 23, thus beginning—

"Judicii signum tellus sudore madescet."

That this is the genuine third line of the hymn there can be, if any, little doubt: but the Mantua Marble, at least as given by Charisius, reads *Teste Petro*, and the Parisian Missal substituted without any authority a new line altogether, *Crucis expandens vexilla*, placing it between the two original ones.

There has been a very general disposition among translators to fight shy of the *Sibyl:* for though few besides those mentioned above have boldly taken the *Crucis* line, many while keeping the orignal, like Sylvester and Drummond, have, like them, turned it generally so as to shirk the *word* Sibyl. There are, in fact, fewer than fifty who have used the word itself, of whom five have made it plural, one uses it with the *indefinite* article, "a Sibyl," and three versions, singularly in authorship, the Rosarists', the *Bona Mors* version, and the Quakers', strangely have it in the original form of Sibylla, *David and Sibylla say*. There seems, however, authority for thus using the word in English: see Bingham (Orig. Eccl. I, ii, 7), where he uses the phrase, "Sibylla their own prophetess."

On this head two curiosities are to be found in American versions: the use of the word *priestess* in one which is marked in my note-book as "altogether worthless;" and more singular still, the replacing of David by *Virgil* in another by the Rev. Charles Rockwell, which I have been unable to procure, though this first stanza is quoted by Dr. Schaff. It is thus—

"Day of wrath, O direful day,
Earth in flames shall pass away,
Virgil and the Sibyl say,"

and the writer must of course have had in his mind the famous lines where Virgil quotes the Cumæan Sibyl in the fourth Bucolic—

> "Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas,
> Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo:
> Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
> Jam nova progenius coelo demittitur alto."[1]

Still, he can hardly have supposed this the passage alluded to by Thomas of Celano, and his reference to Virgil is thus somewhat unaccountable. Virgil is used in mediæval mysteries as a heathen witness to Christ.

Of those versions which turn the original line generally, almost all use such words as *seer* or *prophet;* one or two turn it more generally still, as Dean Disney's *Great theme of inspiration's lyre;* while there are again one or two who so dilute the verse that they cannot be said to have taken either reading. Of this class Worsley is a specimen, whose verse—

> "Day of anger, day of wonder
> When the world shall roll asunder,
> Quenched in *fire and smoke and thunder*"—

can only be described by the favorite modern word *sensational.* But all this will be more fully set out in the tabulation of renderings at the end of the remarks on each verse; and any repetitions, sometimes perhaps unavoidable, must, and it is hoped will, be pardoned.

Many translators appear to have set before themselves no very distinct idea whether they shall be as literal as possible, or more or less paraphrastic: thus you shall see verses here and there absolutely literal, and anon you shall find others departing from their text to all appearance uncompelled. Of this an example may be seen in this very first verse. The plain prosaic translation, such as Lord Macaulay's school boy or any other would give, is simply "the day of wrath, that day, shall dissolve the world in ashes;" but the vast majority of translators, instead of simply taking *dies irae, dies illa,* as two nominatives in apposition governing the verb *solvet,* have made an apostrophe of

[1] "The virgin has returned again,
Returned the old Saturnian reign,
And golden age once more."
—*Longfellow's Golden Legend.*

one or both of them; with in the latter case this result, that they appear (I trust it is only appearance) to take *saeclum* as the nominative to *solvet*, and *solvet* as a neuter verb, which it never is;[2] and thus they alter the idea in a way which, if justifiable in a paraphrase, is hardly so in a literal version. Nor is it for the better; for though it is a bold thing, and demands an apology, to differ from so many, I can hardly think that the majesty of the poem is increased by an apostrophe. Thomas of Celano thought none to be necessary; why should we think otherwise? In the third verse of the Mantuan text there is perhaps one in the weak inversion, *Dies illa, dies irae;* but even that text is not improved by it.

Another point which demands consideration, and which partly depends upon the former, is the liberty which many writers have taken of changing the tense from the future to the present throughout. No doubt the present tense may be managed as a historical present, so as clearly to shew forth the future meaning which is to be given to it by the reader; and Dr. Dobbin has skilfully managed this by beginning with the following emphatic verse—

> "Cometh the day, that day of ire,
> When melts the universe in fire,
> By Sibyl sung and David's lyre."

The prominence here given to the word *cometh* marks the sense which the present tense is to have throughout; but without some such note of meaning as this it seems better to preserve the future. Thus the familiar Dr. Irons, in his version in H.A.M., hardly brings out enough in his first verse the notion of the *coming* of the day of wrath; apostrophizing a day is not to say the day will come; if he had used the future tense it would have been different; but when he goes on *O what fear man's bosom rendeth* all seems vague, the occasion of the fear seems insufficiently defined even by the succeeding line, and the use of the present tense hardly gives so much force and vigor as the writer probably intended it should give.

But I must not find fault too liberally; and a really good translator will hardly need such warnings as he might get from ungrammatical first verses like Dr. Coles'—

[2] The American, Dr. Stryker, has actually made this blunder in a literal prose version which he has printed, but which I have thought it needless to reproduce.

"Day of wrath, that day of burning,
Seer and Sibyl speak concerning,
All the world to ashes turning"—[3]

or from far-fetched participles entailed on a man by the exigencies of double rhyme.

No; it will be a pleasanter task to call attention to a few really good first verses. And as it has hitherto been necessary to speak rather badly of the American versions, one of those shall be put first, which is as good as any that I have seen.

"The day of anger, ah that day,
Shall melt the world in flames away,
This David and the Sibyl say."

In this, by Mr. Henry MacDonald, *ah that day* must be taken as a parenthesis, and then the simplicity of the wording and the emphasis of the last line are both very good points in its favor.

Of those which are now commonly inserted in hymnals, the best is perhaps Isaac Williams'—

"Day of wrath, that awful day
Shall the bannered cross display,
Earth in ashes melt away."

These following vary somewhat from the ordinary style—

"Nigher still and still more nigh
Draws the day of prophecy,
Doomed to melt the earth and sky."
—*Caswall.*

"Dawns the day, the day of dread,
Fast the fires of ruin spread,
David with the Sibyl said."
—"*Messenger of the Sacred Heart,*" 1875.

Before passing on it may be well to point out a singular mistake made by another Roman Catholic translation, which is believed to be an early one of Father Aylward, in the "Crown of Jesus," 1862—

[3] The writer probably intended a relative to be supplied, "Day of wrath concerning which Seer and Sibyl speak;" but it is hardly a fit case for such an omission.

"Day of wrath, that day of woe,
Doomed to melt all things below,
Psalms and Sibyl-songs foreshew."

The translator's difficulty for a rhyme has caused him to restrict the day of judgment to the earth—all things *below*—forgetting that "the *heavens* being on fire shall be dissolved." (Dorian N.T.)

In the tabulated views[4] of which I am now about to give the first, it will be seen, first, that they relate chiefly to words, phrases, and turns of expression, and therefore if any line does not admit of insertion in such a table it is omitted; and, secondly, I have to premise that slight differences in the order of the same words are occasionally disregarded; thus, for instance, *David and the Sibyl* and *The Sibyl and David* would be placed under the same head. The versions also not in triplets are sometimes, not admitting of insertion, left out; and in short, though the tabulations may be considered correct as far as they go, they are not to be taken as altogether exhaustive.

Line i.—Wrath, 40; anger, 7; ire, 6; vengeance, 4; judgment, 2; fury, horror, doom, each 1.

Dread, dreaded, dreadful, 12; awful, 6.

Line ii.—World, 25; heaven, 2; earth, 19; heaven and earth, 10; earth and sky, 2; earth and time, 1; time, 2; ages, 2; universe, 2.

Ashes, 31; dust, 3; dust and ashes, 2; fire, 12; flame, 10; smoke, 1; embers, 2; *crumbling* fire, 1; fire and smoke and thunder, 1.

Melt, 17; consume, 4; dissolve, 4; lay (in ashes), 11; turn (to ashes), 3; burn, 3; expire, 2; fade, flee.

Line iii.—Reading *Sibylla*. David and Sibyl, 27; Seer and Sibyl, 9; Seer and Psalmist, 6; Sibyl and Psalmist, 3; Oracle and Psalmist, 1; Sibyl and Prophet, 5; Psalm and Sibyl, 6; David and Seer, 4; Saint and Seer, 3; David (alone), 1; Seer (alone), 2; Seer and *heathen*, 1; *all* Seers, 1; Prophet and Priestess, 1; Zion, 1; Scripture, 2.

Reading *Crucis*. Bannered cross, 3; banner of the cross, 1; cross (simply), 3; sign, 1.

[4] Many of the latter versions are not included.

2. Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

As indeed all through the Hymn, a simple rendering is here the best; "weird horrors," for instance, should be avoided, which a Roman Catholic writer (Mr. Charles Kent, Barrister-at-Law) in the *Month* of November, 1874, has inserted. The additional idea of some is not only useless, but wrong, as this line of Mr. Samuel Watson (*Belford's Magazine*, Toronto, May, 1878)—

"When the Judge shall come *in glooming;*"

the writer probably remembered that our Lord will come in a cloud, which is no doubt true, but the cloud will be a bright one.

The verse is not one of the most difficult to turn, but yet most translators seem to have diluted it more or less, and some unfortunately by sinking the last line, which is just what should be prominent; so Archdeacon Rowan of Ardfert, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for June, 1849—

"Lo, that solemn Advent nearing,
How the nations mazed and fearing
Wait their Judge's reappearing."

The point in this last line is of course in the word *discussurus*, not so much to judge as to search and thoroughly, *stricte*, lay bare. To express the idea, the word *assize* is not a bad one; I do not, however, find that many translators have used it here, though there are examples in James Dymock, 1687, and in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, 1875; and others have used the word in the fourth verse and at the end of the hymn. Mr. Copeland's version—

"What a trembling far and near,
When the Judge shall straight appear
Winnowing all with fan severe"—

is the only instance of an allusion to the text, "Whose fan is in His hand," though it is not very uncommon to introduce a kindred idea by the use of the word "sift." Another metaphor, as might be expected, is sometimes suggested by the use of the word "weigh."

Line i.—Fear, 24; trembling, 17; terror, 14; tremor, 4; dread, 6; horror, 2.

Of several other words, such as fright, agony, distress, there are solitary instances.

Line ii.—Judge, all but universal; avenger, 1; "judgment sign," 1. Christ, Christ Jesus, Redeemer, each once used.

Epithets. Great, 3; severe, 3; dread, dreadful, 2; impartial, 2; sore, strict, high, righteous, tremendous, omniscient, potent.

Line iii.—So very variously dealt with as to hinder classing.

3. Tuba mirum spargens sonum,
Per sepulcra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum."

The trumpet gives a wondrous sound, but there is no need to say that it "blares," as Dr. Macgill, 1876, and two or three writers of America do.

"Blares aloud that trump of thunder,
Crashing, waking death in wonder,
Citing all the white throne under."
—*Dr. Macgill.*

One is reminded of Lord Tennyson's line, "Warble, O bugle, and, trumpet blare"—the word may do very well for military music to welcome the Princess of Wales, but it cannot suit the trumpet of the last day of judgment. Of the Americans who have used it, one is Dr. Coles, who in another version calls the sound a "reverberating roar;" this is even worse. The word itself, *trumpet* or *trump*, is used almost without exception; W. J. Blew turns it into an "unearthly clarion"[5] in a verse which is an example of what I have called the sensational style; and two or three others simply speak of "the blast."

"Hear the unearthly clarion knelling
Through dim vault and charnel dwelling,
All before the throne compelling."
—*Blew.*

If this characteristic of the sound is to be emphasized, a simple way of doing it is "with loudest crash" (*The Lamp*, 1856), and if the

[5] The word *clarion* had been used before in the "Bona Mors" version.

blast is to be attributed to any agent, it should be to the Almighty Himself—"the voice of the archangel and the trump (*tuba*) of God"—it would seem that to give the trump to the archangel, as is sometimes done, is a sort of confusion arising from the seven apocalyptic trumpets. Still, Dean Stanley and other writers have made the trump an angelic one; and it is indeed very few who have made it divine. Among these few are the Rosarists, and, later, Dr. Coles, in two of his versions; in his freer version in couplets he has taken the fuller idea of St. Paul as above—the lines, except the "dreadful shrieks," are good—

> "What dreadful shrieks the air shall rend
> When all shall see the Judge descend,
> And hear the Archangel's echoing shout
> From heavenly spaces ringing out.
> The trump of God with quickening breath
> Shall pierce the silent realms of death
> And sound the summons in each ear,
> Arise, thy Maker calls: appear."

While another American, calling himself "Somniator," though also introducing both the Almighty and the angel, has curiously enough exactly reversed St. Paul's expression, and written of *The archangel's trump, the voice of God.*

The other points to be noticed are the force of *regiones* and *coget.* The *regions* being, of course, in strictness the four quarters of the earth—the four corners, as Dr. Coles in one version has it—this idea, or a kindred one, should be preserved (but let no one go after Mr. Justice O'Hagan and rhyme *regions* with *obedience*), whereas such generalities as *tombs of earth, death's dominions, caves sepulchral, earth's myriad graveyards, dark and dusty dwellings* (*sic*), lose sight of it; also to translate the *regiones* into kingdoms, or as Mr. Copeland has it, *empires*, is an error—the word has not, that I can find, this sense at all; a good general rendering is perhaps "death's valley" (Miss Pearson, an American lady). *Coget*, too, must not be watered down into a mere statement of the fact that the dead will come—the blast brings them. But to find a word is difficult; *summon* and *bid* are perhaps hardly strong enough, for a summons and a bidding may be disregarded. So indeed may a citation, but we know at once that if it be, further steps are often taken; and though this is true also, and indeed more universally true, of a "summons" in the technical

sense, yet this sense is not so evident in the word *summon* as in *cite; cite* therefore has more of the required force, and is preferable. Of other words which have not this technical sense about them, *force* and *hale*, though quite strong enough, seem not sufficiently dignified; *compel* is probably as good a word as can be found; *bring up* is less common, and thus perhaps better still. It should be said that unless otherwise stated all words suggested are actually found in at least one version. A fine, solemn line is the Rev. A. T. Russel's (1851), *To the tomb the trumpet calleth.*

On the whole, then, some of the best and simplest renderings of this third verse appear to be these—

"The trumpet's wonder-working tone
Through graves in every region blown
Shall hale us all before the throne."
—*H. F. Macdonald* (*America*).

"Hark the trumpet's wondrous tone
Through the tombs of every zone,
Summons all before the throne."
—*Dr. Philip Schaff*, 1869.

For its singular metre and word in the last line, this, of which a specimen has not yet been given, must be quoted—

The dismal trumpet with sad tone
Sounds to the grave of every one
To rise and rendez-vous before His Throne."
—*Anon.*, 1694 ("*Thomas à Kempis*").

Line i.—Trumpet, 56; trumpets in plural, 1; trump, 32; clarion, 3; "trump of clarion," 1; blast (alone), 2; *other additional words:* tone, 18; sound, 13; voice, 3; blare (noun), 3; blare (verb), 1.

Epithets. Wondrous, 18; awful, 6; thrilling, 4; dreadful, 3; startling, 2; thundering, fearful, unearthly, shrill, hoarse, terrific, astounding, mysterious.

Line ii.—Cannot well be classed.

Line iii.—Verbs representing *coget:* Summon, 15; compel, 11; call, 10; bid, 5; gather, 6; cite, 3; bring, 3; force, 4; drive, 3; muster, 2; hale, command, constrain.

COMMENT ON THE "DIES IRAE."

Stanzas I–III.

I.	I.
Dies irae, dies illa	The day of wrath, that day
Solvet saeclum in favilla,	Shall reduce the world to glowing ashes,
Teste David cum Sybilla.	So saith David, with the Sibyl.

All lovers of the great hymn will probably find Mr. Warren's "Notes" quite as interesting as they undoubtedly are valuable. Assuredly, the task of the translator is herculean. His many failures are so many confessions: "I am haunted," we can almost hear him say, "by the subtle melody of the Latin original, by the triple verse of the strophe, by the cadenced rhyme falling upon my ear with the rhythmic insistence of sledge upon anvil:—

> 'Could I but speak it and show it,
> This pleasure more sharp than pain
> That baffles and lures me so,
> The world should once more have a poet
> Such as it had
> In the ages glad
> Long ago'—

that is, such as it had in the humble Franciscan friar in that marvellous age known to the ecclesiast, the schoolman, the artist, the poet, as the Thirteenth Century of the Christian Era. But English is a rugged speech, and Latin a mellifluous tongue; trochaic verse singularly accords with the genius of a syntax not hinged upon the unavoidable particles of my own language, but moving upon the oiled courses of inflectional speech; continuous trochaic rhyming, so natural to a vocabulary that knows no accent on the final syllable of a word, is a practical impossibility—so declareth Mr. Warren—in English. So much for the mere external form that thus 'baffles and lures me so.' But the crystalline condensation of the idea possible to the Latin, the amber-like solidity yet lucidity of the phrase—how shall I imitate that? *Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio,* in my forced acceptance of the intractable trochaic opening of each verse. English expression lends itself so naturally to iambic metre that nearly all of our verse is iambic;

but how dare I sacrifice to such a necessity the incomparable melody of the Latin masterpiece?"

The particles and accents of English do indeed make iambic the most facile of all metres and trochaic (and for a similar reason, dactylic) the most difficult. But the difficulty of the double rhyming essential to pure trochaic lines is well-nigh insurmountable. Mr. Warren has demonstrated this difficulty *a posteriori* in such an admirable fashion as to leave nothing to be desired. But it is not *de trop* to quote in this connection General Dix's rather humorous allusion to the difficulty, in his comment on his own translation of the first stanza:

(1863.)

Day of vengeance without morrow,
Earth shall end in flame and sorrow,
As from saint and seer we borrow.

"It is this stanza," wrote the General, "which has always proved most troublesome to translators, and it is the one with which I was dissatisfied more than with any other in my translation when I allowed it to go to the press. My dissatisfaction was greatly increased a few years later on finding in one of Thackeray's novels—I do not at this moment recollect which—a passage somewhat like this: 'When a man is cudgeling his brains to find any other rhymes for "sorrow" than "borrow" and "morrow," he is nearer the end of his woes than he imagines': I felt instinctively that any one familiar with this passage would, on reading my translation, be conscious, at the very commencement, of a sense of the ludicrous altogether incompatible with the solemnity of the subject. I therefore resolved, at my earliest leisure, to attempt the production of an improved version of the first stanza; and in doing so I remodelled several others, to make them conform more nearly to the original . . . How successful I have been in the change I have made in the first two lines of the stanza I am at a loss to determine. I can only say that, after an elaborate effort, it was the best I could do."[1] This is General Dix's revision of the stanza:

[1] *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, II, pp. 233–4.

(1875.)

Day of vengeance, lo! that morning
On the earth in ashes dawning,
David with the Sybil warning.

Quite apart from the question of the bad rhyming of "dawning" with "warning" and "morning," the revision has dropped out of sight the important future tense of the Latin—a tense faithfully reproduced in the first draft; and in addition to this distinct loss, there is in the whole stanza an uncomfortable suggestion of the "ablative absolute" construction which is found only in the first line of the first draft. The old wine was the best, and the General has but added one more to the many illustrations of the thesis maintained by Dr. Coles[2] (who translated the hymn eighteen times), that no single version can reflect the totality of the original:

"To preserve, in connection with the utmost fidelity and strictness of rendering, all the rhythmic merits of the Latin original,—to attain to a vital likeness as well as to an exact literalness, at the same time that nothing is sacrificed of its musical sonorousness and billowy grandeur, easy and graceful in its swing as the ocean on its bed,—to make the verbal copy, otherwise cold and dead, glow with the fire of lyric passion,—to reflect, and that too by means of a single version, the manifold aspects of the many-sided original, exhausting at once its wonderful fulness and pregnancy,—to cause the white light of the primitive so to pass through the medium of another language as that it shall undergo no refraction whatever,—would be desirable, certainly, were it practicable; but so much as this it were unreasonable to expect in a single version."

Dr. Coles thus apologizes for his *tour de force* in making so many versions. It is doubtful, to say the least, whether the success of his effort can be considered as having justified it; and his *apologia* is quoted here merely as a rhetorical summary of the difficulties crowding hard upon the translator. The untranslatableness of the hymn is also testified to by the Rev. Mr. Duffield, who confessed that he thought his sixth version had not carried him "one inch" beyond his first.

[2] *Dies Irae in Thirteen Original Versions*, 5th ed., p. 33.

I.—Dies irae, dies illa.

Doubtless one of the elements of difficulty found in translating the first stanza arises from the startling suddenness with which the poet ushers in his theme: *Dies irae, dies illa.* Without premonitory hint of any kind, "as in the twinkling of an eye" (as St. Paul strikingly puts it), we are brought face to face with the one thing we would have farthest removed from our thoughts. The awful pageant of convulsed nature [3]—the roarings

[3] The "signs and wonders" heralding the Day of Judgment are very strikingly set forth in W. G. Palgrave's poem (written in 1844, when the full tide of British versions of the *Dies Irae* had set in but a few years) entitled "The Eve of the Day of Judgment." Our readers will pardon us if we quote it entire in this connection, partly as a vivid description of the preludings of the Last Trumpet, partly as an introduction to the great hymn itself, and partly as an illustration of a curious stanzaic and rhymic scheme—the last word of each stanza rhyming with the four lines of the succeeding stanza, while the last word of the last stanza rhymes with the four lines of the first, a complete cycle of rhyme being thus completed:

When he comes Who died on Tree
Signs and wonders there shall be
In the earth and air and sea,
Horror and perplexity
On the quick and dead.

Darkness o'er the earth shall spread,
Earth shall reel beneath the tread,
Strange amazement overhead,
Round them shall be fear and dread
As a troubled dream.

All shall strange and altered seem,
As from some unwonted gleam,
Plain or mountain, marsh or stream,
Other shew than we did deem
Mid the mist and rain.

Forms the eye may not retain
Shall be seen and lost again,
Sounds be heard of broken strain,
Frequent on the shaded plain
Or the lonely way.

Near when draws that wrathful day
Nature's bonds shall all decay;
Stone from stone shall drop away,
Wood from wood and clay from clay,
Nought be constant there.

Ships that mid the waters fare
Sink tho' smooth the waves and fair,
Birds shall fall through yielding air,
Earth the tread refuse to bear
And asunder start.

Wearied all, amazed, apart
Shall remain with speechless smart,
Failing eyes and sickening heart,
Longing till the shadows part
And the darkness hie.

They for death aloud shall cry,
But before them death shall fly;
Ever present to their eye,
Yet their prayer shall he deny,
Mocking at their moan.

Rock and water, wood and stone,
With a lamentable groan,
Him Who sits upon the Throne
Call to haste and take His own,
And no more delay.

Yet ere dawn the eternal day
Such long night must wear away;
If before it such dismay,
What shall be that very Day,
What that Judgment be?

of the sea, the stars falling from heaven, the darkened sun and moon, and the moving of the powers of heaven—prophesied by our Saviour, was no doubt in the poet's mind when he wrote; but none of these terrors does he picture for us—nor even the fore-heralding of these in the moral convulsions in the nations of the earth—as an introduction to the Day itself. With a frightful abruptness the theme is announced; but the Scriptural text—a classical one in Latin—on which the hymn is built made that abruptness not inartistic in the Latin, while the absence of a similar classical text in English allows the translator to stumble blindly for an opening line that shall, like the original, seem like a blast blown from the very "trump of God" itself. The Latin text, namely, was that of the prophet Sophonias (I, 15 : 16):

Dies irae, dies illa
dies tribulationis et angustiae,
dies calamitatis et miseriae,
dies tenebrarum et caliginis,
dies nebulae et turbinis,
dies tubae et clangoris . . . .

Such is doubtless the inspirational text of the hymn, furnishing it at once with the *motif* and the first utterance thereof. The "tuba" is heard throughout; but what similar classic and conventional text do we find in English? "That day is a day of wrath" is the rendering of the text into English. Its Biblical use would fit it for the office of "first line" in an English version of the hymn, and no other rendering could be anything else than a weak dilution of its simple, direct strength. It must be the final English rendering; but, unfortunately, that rendering is not rhythmical, and no amount of tortuous ingenuity can make it rhythmical.

It would be a curious and interesting experiment to give a paraphrase of the *Dies Irae* in a similar series of rhyme-coupled stanzas. The metre—trochaic 7s—is a favorite one with translators of the hymn. The marvellous triple trochaic rhyming of the original would indeed be lost; but its absence could in a measure be atoned for by a certain soberness and solemnity found in the repetition of the fourfold rhyme:

O that day, the day of ire,
When in vast consuming fire
Earth and Time at length expire,
David's psalm and Sibyl's lyre
Did of old foreshow.

Ah, how many a dying throe
Heaven and earth shall undergo
When the Judge of weal and woe
Comes in flaming after-glow
All their deeds to try! etc.

"Stat difficultas" for the translator; and the difficulty stares him in the face at the very commencement of his task—is indeed the very threshold of the mansion he would enter. If at least an approximate conformity to the original rhythm were not so desirable as it is in such a hymn, it would indeed be possible to translate the opening line with absolute literalness:

> The Day of wrath—that day
> Shall melt the earth away,
> As Saint and Sybil say.

An interesting illustration of the startling suddenness of the opening line is furnished by Sir Walter Scott's fragment of the hymn introduced into the *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Even with an introductory warning, how suddenly the grand line bursts upon the ear!

> "The mass was sung, and prayers were said,
> And solemn requiem for the dead;
> And bells tolled out their mighty peal,
> For the departed spirit's weal;
> And ever in the office close
> The hymn of intercession rose;
> And far the echoing aisles prolong
> The awful burden of the song:
> *Dies irae, dies illa!*
> *Solvet saeclum in favilla:*
> While the pealing organ rung;
> Were it meet with sacred strain
> To close my lay so light and vain,
> Thus the holy Fathers sung:
>
> That day of wrath, that dreadful day!
> When heaven and earth shall pass away,
> What power shall be the sinner's stay?
> How shall he meet that dreadful day?
>
> When shrivelling like a parchéd scroll
> The flaming heavens together roll;
> When louder yet and yet more dread
> Swells the high trump that wakes the dead!
>
> Oh! on that day, that wrathful day
> When man to judgment wakes from clay,
> Be thou the trembling sinner's stay,
> Though heaven and earth shall pass away!"

The author of the Mantuan Marble text apparently shared the same feeling that the abruptness of the first line of the hymn demanded some kind of introduction; and accordingly he begins with a quiet warning:

Cogita, anima fidelis,	Think, O Christian soul, and sigh—
Ad quid respondere velis	Unto what thou must reply,
Christo venturo de coelis,—	When Christ cometh from the sky!
	—Version of Dr. Irons (1848)—

and follows on with the three stanzas already printed in the November issue of The Dolphin. Doubtless for the same reason a certain Stephanus Proisthinius, who attributed the authorship of the hymn to St. Bernard, includes for the hymn the following prologue:

Cum recordor moriturus	When I, doomed to certain death,
Quid post mortem sim futurus	Think what follows my last breath,
Terror terret me venturus	Grips me now that coming terror
Quem expecto non securus.	Shadowed forth as from a mirror:
Terret dies me terroris,	Day of tumult and of clangor,
Dies irae ac furoris,	Day of vengeance and of anger,
Dies luctus ac moeroris,	Day of grief and tears and wailing,
Dies ultrix peccatoris,	Day of vengeance all-prevailing,
Dies Irae, dies illa, etc.	Day of wrath, that awful morning, etc.

These verses, however, antedate the hymn, and are found in a MS. of the twelfth century, where they form part of a long hymn of nearly 400 lines which was published for the first time in complete form by Edélestand du Meril in his *Poésies Populaires du Moyen Age*, and afterwards by Mone.

So, too, Goethe in the Church Scene in *Faust* makes Mephistopheles suggest the unhappy earthly future of Marguerite, before the choir utters the terrors of the unearthly future in the words:

> Dies irae, dies illa
> Solvet saeclum in favilla.

It is an interesting fact that the two grandest of all the mediæval hymns should have had for their first lines almost startlingly abrupt quotations from the Scriptures. Thus the *Stabat Mater*, by another Franciscan, Jacopone da Todi, commences with a quotation from St. John (19: 25). The quotations from Sophonias and St. John are only two out of the well-nigh innumerable illus-

trations of the splendid familiarity of the world of the Middle Ages with the Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament. How could D'Aubigné and Milner have written as they did on this subject?

II.—Solvet saeclum in favilla.

Mr. Warren notes that some translators make an apostrophe of the first line, and are thus forced to render *solvet* intransitively: "They appear to take *saeclum* as the nominative to *solvet*, and *solvet* as a neuter verb, which it never is." He thinks that if such a rendering is ever justifiable in a poetic paraphrase, it can not be so in a literal translation. Apropos, a certain M. W. Stryker published, some ten years after Mr. Warren's essay (not then elaborated into the volume which he afterwards published) was written, a little volume on the *Dies Irae*, which served the purpose of printing the Latin text with a "Literal Prose Translation," and two versified renderings of his own. It is one of the latest volumes which have appeared on the subject, and on consulting it, I find the first stanza translated literally just in the way Mr. Warren deprecates:

> Day of wrath! that day!
> The age shall dissolve in glowing embers,
> David with the Sibyl being witness.

The exclamation-points indicate clearly that the translator is indirectly apostrophizing the "Day." The confusion of ideas in rendering *solvet* sometimes transitively, sometimes intransitively, perhaps arises from the fact that the English *dissolve* may be used in either way, while the Latin *solvet* can be used only transitively. Mr. Stryker evidently makes *saeclum* the subject of *solvet*, instead of the object. The word *solvet* is taken directly from II Peter 3: 10–12: "Adveniet autem dies Domini, ut fur: in quo coeli magno impetu transient, elementa vero calore *solventur*, terra autem et quae in ipsa sunt opera exurentur. Cum igitur haec omnia *dissolvenda* sint . . . properantes in adventum diei Domini per quem caeli ardentes *solventur*, et elementa ignis ardore tabescent—But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief: in which the heavens shall pass away with great violence, and the

elements shall be melted with heat, and the earth and the works which are in it shall be burnt up. Seeing then that all these things are to be *dissolved*," etc.).

Mr. Warren remarks that out of his collection of versions, 31 render the word *favilla*, ashes; 3, dust; 2, dust and ashes; 12, fire; 10, flame; 1, smoke; 1, embers; 1, fire and smoke and thunder; 1, crumbling fire. Of all these, "embers" would seem to be the best translation—but glowing embers would be a better one. For the poet chose a strikingly vivid word in *favilla*, which does not merely mean "ashes," but "glowing" ashes or embers. The world shall indeed be destroyed; but the whirlwind of fire shall scarce have consumed it ere the Judgment begin.

III.—Teste David cum Sybilla.

The Mantuan text has *Petro* instead of *David*. The testimony of Peter is found in his second Epistle (chapter 3, verse 7): "But the heavens and the earth which now are . . . are . . . reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of the ungodly men;" and again (verse 10): "But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief: in which the heavens shall pass away with great violence, and the elements shall be melted with great heat, and the earth and the works which are in it, shall be burnt up." While such texts as these would naturally suggest the name of Peter, it is probable that they were not in the mind of the singer, who had found in his daily psalmody so many allusions of David's to the great Day: "He shall rain snares upon sinners; fire and brimstone and storms of winds shall be the portion of their cup" (Ps. 10: 7); "God shall come manifestly, our God shall come, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall burn before him; and a mighty tempest shall be round about him. He shall call heaven from above; and the earth, to judge his people. Gather ye together his saints to him; who set his covenant before sacrifices. And the heavens shall declare his justice; for God is judge" (Ps. 49: 3–6); and finally: "In the beginning, O Lord, thou foundedst the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest; and all of them shall grow old like a garment. And as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed" (Ps. 101: 26–28).

Mr. Warren notes the various renderings of the line. Let us add that General Dix had first translated it

"As from saint and seer we borrow,"

but revised it into

"David and the Sibyl warning,"

for the curious reason that "it was not quite orthodox to style King David a saint, though he was in his latter days a model of true penitence. Besides, I believe there is a Saint David in the calendar, and there is danger of confounding them."

A few French missals have omitted the line and have introduced an entirely new one—

Crucis expandens vexilla,—

which is placed in the middle of the stanza. The omission attempts apparently to avoid a reference to the Sibyl. Dean Trench accounts for the change by the supposition of "an unwillingness to allow a Sibyl to appear as bearing witness to Christian truth;" and he thinks the reference to the Sibyl "quite in the spirit of the early and mediæval theology. In those uncritical ages the Sibylline verses were not seen to be that transparent forgery which indeed they are; but were continually appealed to as only second to the Sacred Scriptures in prophetic authority; thus on this very matter of the destruction of the world, by Lactantius, *Inst. Div.*, vii, 16–24; cf. Piper, *Method. d. Christl. Kunst*, p. 472–507; those, with other heathen testimonies of the same kind, being not so much subordinated to more legitimate prophecy, as coördinated with it, the two being regarded as parallel lines of prophecy, the Church's and the World's, and consenting witness to the same truths. Thus is it in a curious mediæval mystery on the Nativity, published in the *Journal des Savans*, 1846, p. 88. It is of simplest construction. One after another patriarchs, and prophets, and kings of the Old Covenant advance and repeat their most remarkable word about Him that should come; but side by side with them a series of heathen witnesses, *Virgil*, on the ground of his fourth eclogue, *Nebuchadnezzar* (Dan. 3: 25), and the *Sibyl;* and that it was the writer's intention to

parallelize the two series, and to show that Christ had the testimony of both, is plain from some opening lines of the prologue:—

'O Judaei, Verbum Dei
Qui negatis, Hominem
Vestrae legis, testem Regis
Audite per ordinem.

Et vos, gentes, non credentes
Peperisse virginem,
Vestrae gentis documentis
Pellite caliginem.'

And such is the meaning here—'That such a day shall be has the witness of inspiration, of David,—and of mere natural religion, of the Sibyl—Jew and Gentile alike bearing testimony to the truths which we Christians believe.' All this makes it certain that we should read *Teste David*, and not *Teste Petro*." We may not enter upon a discussion of the authenticity or genuineness of the Sibylline books. Billuart remarks that while some reject the books and oracles as Christian figments, and others accept them, perhaps the juster opinion is that neither are the oracles Christian figments nor are they genuine and incorrupt (*Tract. de Incarn.*, Diss. II, Digr. II). For a somewhat extended discussion, the volume *Prophéties* of Migne's *Encyc. Theol.*, article *Sibylles*, may prove acceptable. The author despatches the question of the authenticity, etc., of the oracles in a concluding summary: "Le lecteur . . . fera bien de ne conserver les vers sibyllins que comme un objet de pure curiosité, nous ne disons pas de littérature, et sans y attacher une plus grande importance."

Mohnike thinks that the author of *Dies Irae* had in mind the verses of the Erythraean Sibyl, which Eusebius gives in Greek (forming the well-known acrostic, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ —Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour) and which St. Augustine quotes, in a Latin translation which attempts to preserve, poorly enough, the transliterated Greek acrostic.[3] Mystical-minded, St. Augustine calls attention to the fact that there are just twenty-seven lines in the extract, and that twenty-seven is the cube of three; and that "if you join the initial letters of the five Greek words" you will get the word ἰχθύς, "that is, 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because He was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality as in the depth of waters." The saint also points out that in the Latin

[3] *De Civ. Dei*, xviii, 23.

verses "the meaning of the Greek is correctly given, although not in the exact order of the lines as connected with the initial letters." The translation, with the acrostic rectified, appears in another rendering:

Judicii adventu tellus sudore madescet;
E coelo veniet princeps per saecla futurus,
Scilicet ut carnem praesens ut judicet orbem;
Omnis homo, fidusque deum infidusque videbit,
Una cum sanctis excelsum fine sub aevi.
Sede sedens animas censebit corpora et ipsa,
Chersos erit mundus, spinas feret undique tellus.
Reiicient simulacra homines et munera Ditis, etc.

The last two lines just quoted preserve the "Ch" and the "Re" of the Greek, as well as obviate the difficulty alluded to by St. Augustine. The acrostic has been rendered several times into English; by Dr. Schaff, in his edition of "The City of God," by a writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* (Oct., 1861), by an old translator of St. Augustine, J. Healey (1620), whose version, "very much forced and labored," begins:

"In sign of Doomsday the whole world shall sweat:
Ever to reign, a King in heavenly seat
Shall come to judge all flesh."

The following translation[4] similarly preserves the acrostical form in English:

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ

"Judgment shall moisten the earth with the sweat of its standard,
Ever enduring, behold the King shall come through the ages,
Sent to be here in the flesh, and judge at the last of the world.
O God, the believing and faithless alike shall behold Thee
Uplifted with saints, when at last the ages are ended.
Sifted before Him are souls in the flesh for His Judgment.

ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ

Hid in thick vapors, while desolate lieth the earth.
Rejected by men are the idols and long hidden treasures;
Earth is consumed by the fire, and it searcheth the ocean and heaven;
Issuing forth, it destroyeth the terrible portals of hell.
Saints in their body and soul freedom and light shall inherit;
Those who are guilty shall burn in fire and brimstone forever.
Occult actions revealing, each one shall publish his secrets;
Secrets of every man's heart God shall reveal in the light.

[4] *The City of God.* Translated by the Rev. Marcus Dods. Edinburgh. Vol. II, p. 242.

ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ

Then shall be weeping and wailing, yea, and gnashing of teeth ;
Eclipsed is the sun, and silenced the stars in their chorus.
Over and gone is the splendor of moonlight, melted the heaven.
Uplifted by Him are the valleys, and cast down the mountains.

Utterly gone among men are distinctions of lofty and lowly.
Into the plains rush the hills, the skies and oceans are mingled.
Oh, what an end of all things ! earth broken in pieces shall perish ;
Swelling together at once shall the waters and flames flow in rivers.

Sounding the archangel's trumpet shall peal down from heaven,
Over the wicked who groan in their guilt and their manifold sorrows.
Trembling, the earth shall be opened, revealing chaos and hell.
Every king before God shall stand in that day to be judged.
Rivers of fire and of brimstone shall fall from the heavens."

Strikingly suggestive though these lines be of the theme and content of the *Dies Irae*, Daniel in his *Thesaurus*[5] is inclined to think that the mediæval singer caught some of his suggestions rather from portions of the Sybilline Oracles other than the *locus classicus* just quoted in translation from the *City of God.* He gives five quotations in Chateillon's Latin version, and not inappropriately asks ; "Sed unde Saul inter prophetas ? Quid Sibylla in carmine ecclesiae ?" The Sybilline prophecy is indeed so explicit as to justify anyone in wondering how Saul should be found amongst the prophets ! Daniel, however, does not ask his questions reprovingly, but quotes Staudenmaier,[6] who, apparently crediting the Sibylline Oracles, extols their profound and lofty assertion of the providence of God over His creation, shows how the supernatural revelations of the prophets have their counterpart in the Sibylline Oracles that enlightened the pagans, while both declare the justice of God in language which culminates in the grand description of the consummation of all things.

In deference to the critical thought that declares the Sibylline Oracles to be spurious, or at least corrupt, should the line be changed, as we have found some of the French texts doing ? The task would be a long one to eliminate the Sibyls from the works of the Fathers, the hymns of the Middle Ages and from such masterpieces of Christian Art as the five Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel, the

[5] II, p. 124.
[6] Geist des Christenthums, etc., II, p. 483.

Delphic Sibyls in Van Eyck's altar-piece at Ghent, the eight in Ulm Cathedral, not to speak of the series of twelve which once existed at Cheyney Court in Herefordshire. Once we begin tampering with the text of the *Dies Irae*, we shall have the French "Crucis expandens vexilla" to get rid of the Sibyl, and the German "Petro" to get rid of the "David." "The old wine is the best."

The Protestant Dr. Schaff remarked that "the mythical Sibyl, which, as the representative of the unconscious prophecies of heathendom, is here placed alongside the singer and prophet of Israel, has long since lost the importance which it once occupied in the apologetic theory of the fathers and schoolmen. Yet there is a truth underlying this use made of the Sibylline oracles, and the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, inasmuch as heathenism, in its nobler spirits, was groping in the dark after 'the unknown God,' and bore negative and indirect testimony to Christ, as the Old Testament positively and directly predicted and foreshadowed His coming." (*Christ in Song*, p. 374.)

II.	II.
Quantus tremor est futurus	What trembling there shall be
Quando judex est venturus	When the Judge shall come
Cuncta stricte discussurus.	To investigate rigidly all things.

Little need be added to Mr. Warren's interesting analysis of this stanza. It recalls the words of our Lord in St. Luke: "And there shall be signs in the sun . . . and upon the earth distress of nations . . . Men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world . . . And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with great majesty."

Many editors and translators of the hymn have indulged in rhetorical appreciations of the hymn as a whole, but in very few instances have undertaken to analyze any verse of the hymn in detail from a poetical standpoint. An approach to such analysis is found in Duffield's *Latin Hymns*, where the editor says, apropos of the Mantuan prologue and Haemmerlin epilogue (which he thinks are "feeble, lumbering excrescences, and are fastened to it in such an external way as to destroy the unity of the poem if left as they

stand"): "The text in the Missal gives us a new conception of the powers of the Latin tongue. Its wonderful wedding of sense to sound—the *u* assonance in the second stanza, the *o* assonance in the third, and the *a* and *i* assonances in the fourth, for instance —the sense of organ music that runs through the hymn, even unaccompanied, as distinctly as through the opening verses of Lowell's 'Vision of Sir Launfal,' and the transition as clearly marked in sound as in meaning from lofty adoration to pathetic entreaty, impart a grandeur and dignity to the *Dies Irae* which are unique in this kind of writing." Here attention is directed to a poetic value—that of assonance—in the hymn; and the quotation from Duffield is made in this place, as the illustration of the assonance begins with this second stanza.

III.	III.
Tuba mirum spargens sonum	The trumpet scattering a wondrous sound
Per sepulchra regionum	Through the sepulchres of the earth
Coget omnes ante thronum.	Shall gather all before the throne.

I find in Saintsbury's *Flourishing of Romance* (p. 9) an interesting word on the first line: "It would be possible, indeed, to illustrate a complete dissertation on the methods of expression in serious poetry from the fifty-one lines of the *Dies Irae*. Rhyme, alliteration, cadence, and adjustment of vowel and consonant values,—all these things receive perfect expression in it, or, at least, in the first thirteen stanzas, for the last four are a little inferior. It is quite astonishing to reflect upon the careful art or the felicitous accident of such a line as

Tuba mirum spargens sonum,

with the thud of the trochee[7] falling in each instance in a different vowel; and still more on the continuous sequence of five stanzas, from *Judex ergo* to *non sit cassus*, in which a word could not be displaced or replaced by another without loss."

An old abecedary on the Last Judgment, ascribed by some to the Venerable Bede, refers to the trumpet:

Clangor tubae per quaternas	Clangor of the trumpet sounding,
Terrae plagas concinens	Unto earth's four quarters spread
Vivos una mortuosque	Shall before the Judge advancing
Christo ciet obviam.	Summon both the quick and dead.

[7] Of course no one of the four is a pure classical trochee: but all obey the trochaic rhythm.

The justness of Mr. Saintsbury's admiration for the line

Tuba mirum spargens sonum

is obvious when we compare *concinens* with *spargens sonum*, or *per quaternas terrae plagas* with *per sepulchra regionum*, or *ciet* with *coget*. *Coget*, by the way, recalls a somewhat similiar word *coercs* used by Horace in his address to Mercury (Bk. I, ix, 5):

Tu pias laetis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis deorum
Gratus et imis.

The coercion (*coerces*) used by Mercury is as gentle as it is insistent—the rod he uses is a golden one, yet the airy flock of the blest souls must attain their happy thrones. The idea suggested is that of a shepherd shepherding his fleecy flock into happy pastures. Now with respect to the hymn's use of the word *coget*, it has several times occurred to me that the singer had in mind a similar metaphor; for afterwards, in a more formal way, the figure is elaborated:

Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab hoedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.

The souls of men, standing before the tribunal of God, shall be dealt with after the parable of our Saviour; and the sheep of the Gospel picture must be separated from the goats. Virgil uses *cogere* in this sense: "Cogite oves pueri." Those whom the last trumpet must bring before the judgment seat comprise not alone the wicked, but as well the "beloved of my Father"; and the Horatian metaphor of the flock shepherded by Mercury might perhaps be applicable to the picture of the trump that is to gather 'all,' "the good and the bad, the just and the unjust." Force is implied by both words, *coerceo* and *cogo;* but just as Horace adds to the idea of "force" that of gentleness in its exercise, so it may be that in the hymn, too, a similar implication would not prove amiss. Mr. Warren thinks it difficult to find a good word for *coget* in English, for "*summon* and *bid* are perhaps hardly strong enough;" and he prefers the stronger word *cite*. And yet, in such an interpretation, *cite* is not strong enough; for

although we know that, as Mr. Warren argues, a citation, if unheeded, will be followed by stronger measures of the law—still it *may* be disregarded, whereas the last trumpet shall be of all-compelling power. On the other hand, the shepherd's crook, however gentle in its suggestion, is always effective for its purpose. Would not the verb *shepherd* answer the requirements of *coget?*

> Then shall the trump's resounding tone
> Scattered through graves of every zone
> Shepherd all souls before the throne.

An additional reason for such an interpretation is furnished by the text of St. Matthew describing the last trumpet (24: 31): "And he shall send his angels with a trumpet, and a great voice: and they shall *gather together* his elect from the four winds, from the farthest parts of the heavens to the utmost bounds of them." Here the effect of the trumpet is that of "gathering together," or shepherding from all parts into one fold. St. Paul (I Cor. 15: 52) lays no stress on the legal citing power of the trumpet, but describes its effect merely: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall rise again incorruptible: and we shall be changed." So, too, in I Thess.[8]

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BROTHER AND SISTER.

Chapter XVIII.—A Life for a Life.

AFTER my departure my sister's disease began to develop with alarming rapidity. She failed visibly from day to day. Sleeplessness, night-sweats, an unconquerable aversion to food, soon exhausted her little remaining strength. Fine thread-like lines of blood began to show in the expectorations, and then hemorrhages, more and more severe, announced the fatal progress of the malady which was fast undermining a constitution naturally vigorous but worn out before its time by the pious excesses of charity. Marguerite was only thirty-two years old.

[8] 4: 15.

At this juncture Charles was ordered to Senegal as Lieutenant-Governor. This was a hard blow for him under the circumstances. That he would never see Marguerite again was almost certain, and, to add to his hardships, he was forced to leave for his new post quite alone. For several years past his wife's health had caused him great anxiety, and it was out of the question to take her to such a place. The unwholesome climate would have proved fatal in a few months. Lucie, on the other hand, could not bear to be left behind. The very idea upset her completely, and she was also much distressed because she could not go to Anjou and be with her sister-in-law. The physicians absolutely forbade it. Indeed, she could not have done much good at the Hutterie, and would have been more of a hindrance than a help, as the little woman did not know the first thing about taking care of a sick person.

So it seemed that our dear Guitte was to be left to the care of Cillette and Lexis at the Hutterie. They were faithful and devoted servants, without doubt, and had been with their mistress ever since their childhood, and fairly worshipped her, but the poor creatures were clumsy and incapable of giving the poor invalid the care and attention which her condition demanded.

When I heard of Charles' orders, and knew that Lucie could not go to Anjou, I at first thought of going home myself and staying until the end came; but Providence ordered all for the best. A great friend of Marguerite's, Mademoiselle de la Croix, volunteered to go and live with her and take charge of the house-keeping. This proposal was most gratefully accepted, and Mademoiselle de la Croix was soon established at the head of affairs. Her companionship was a great boon to my sister, for she not only relieved her of all external responsibilities, but cheered her, and helped her to bear the trying ordeal of her illness.

The good country people were in a state of utter consternation when they heard that Mademoiselle Leclère was in danger of death and that the physician had no hope for her recovery. Their grief was, if possible, even more intense than when she had come so near dying ten years before.

Pilgrimages to Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secour, novenas, Holy Communions, days and nights before the Blessed Sacrament—all

THE DOLPHIN.

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Red. "An' I hope we'll have a rale night of it."

"I hope so," said Donal, moving homeward.

"I say, Donal," said Red, as if suddenly recollecting himself.

"Well, Red, what is it?" said Donal.

"'Tis a family business, an' I suppose I shouldn't interfare," said Red, blushing in the darkness. "But they say your intinded, Donal, don't want Nodlag on the same flure wid her, an' the ould woman here does be lonesome sometimes——"

"You mane you'll like to have her here?" said Donal.

"That is, av there's no room for her at Glenanaar," said Red.

"So long as there's bit, bite and sup yonder," said Donal solemnly, "Nodlag will have her place at our table, no matter who comes in——"

"Oh, I meant no offince," said Red.

"An' I take none," said Donal. "An' at laste, it is somethin' to know that she has a friend in you, Red, if all fails her."

"That she has, and some day I may have the chance to prove it," said Red. "Good-night!"

P. A. SHEEHAN.

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NOTES ON THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE "DIES IRAE."

IN the following article we present Mr. Warren's treatment of the three stanzas, IV to VI, of the famous sequence, followed by Dr. Henry's literary comment on the same stanzas. The reader familiar with the literature of this subject may have noticed that not only Mr. Warren, but commentators generally have done scant justice to American Catholic translators of the Hymn, and it is therefore pleasant to note that Dr. Henry has laid particular stress upon the fertility which characterizes this field of English versions. As a result partly of our suggestion made in the pages of THE DOLPHIN, that readers of these articles would kindly indicate to us any new translations of the hymn made after the year 1895, Dr. Henry has been enabled to record no less than thirty-five Catholic versions, only a few of which had been noticed heretofore from the viewpoint of literary comment. Thus the value of Dr. Henry's articles consists not merely in the fact that he offers original criticism on a theme of world-wide literary interest, but also in this that he directs attention for the first time to the labors of Catholic translators among the host of hymnologists who have occupied themselves with this theme.—EDITOR.

STANZAS IV–VI.

By the late C. F. S. WARREN, M.A.

4. Mors stupebit, et Natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new." The first line of this verse probably describes simply the instant cessation at the last day of the whole former course of things, without any direct reference to the text which tells us that Death and Hell shall be cast into the lake of fire. Though Crashaw would seem to have had this in his mind by his line—

"Horror of Nature, Hell, and Death!"

and one version of Dr. Coles, instead of, like Crashaw, adding Hell, substitutes it for Nature. But most versions have *Death and Nature*

(trochaic), or *Nature and Death* (iambic), a few *Death* alone, and Archbishop Trench *Nature* alone—

"What amazement shall o'ertake
Nature when the dead shall wake,
Answer to the Judge to make."

Besides several very general versions, two (Isaac Williams and Father Caswall) have written *Death and Time* with a remembrance probably of the angelic oath that there shall be time no longer; Archbishop Benson has *Earth and Death*, and Mr. W. H. Robinson *Death and Life*. This last translation is perhaps a rather daring one, but I am tempted to think that it best represents the original word, which is plainly opposed to *Mors*. The whole verse is this, and is a good one—

"Death and Life astonished view
Every creature rise anew,
Rise to meet the judgment true."

Among others of the more ordinary type, Dean Alford's is one of the best—

"Death shall shrink and Nature quake
When all creatures shall awake,
Answer to their God to make,"

though I rather doubt the replacing of *Judge* by *God*. One American writer has this, plainly taking *Nature* (as is shown by the adjective) in the so common modern sense of the mere external face of things—

"Death shall die, *fair* Nature too,
As the creature, risen anew,
Answers to his God's review,"

a stanza which is an admirable instance of the uncertainty pervading so many versions: *fair Nature* is a decided blunder, and indeed it must be said rather a silly one; but *Death shall die* is a fine expression, first used in the *Saturday Magazine* paraphrase of 1832 by Canon Parkinson; it brings to mind that grand sonnet of Donne's (most readily perhaps to be found in Trench's *Household Poetry*, p. 144), which ends thus—

"Why swellest thou then?
One short sleep past we wake eternally,
And Death shall be no more: Death, thou shalt die."

With respect to the translation of *stupebit*, it need only be said that it seems better, like Thomas of Celano, to apply one word, and that a simple one, to both subjects, Death and Nature, rather than to endeavor to differentiate that which is predicted of each, and to go about in search of elaborate expressions to that end. Where, as is here the case, almost every writer has a different form of language, it is not easy to select examples: one striking expression is used by the old Rosarists, who make Nature and Death *stand at gaze;* but as a rule the error has been greatly in the direction of too much elaboration; if it may be so said without irreverence, such phrases as *Death shall swoon and Nature sicken* are far too like the words of a physician who should describe with accuracy the symptoms of his patients. The strangest version of this kind is the following:

> "Death aghast and Nature dying
> Start and swoon."

Dean Stanley, however, having avoided the (so to say) technical words above quoted, has produced a striking couplet—

> "Nature then shall stand aghast,
> Death himself be overcast;"

and Mr. Simms' is also fine—

> "Death, the last enemy, shall fall,
> And Nature cease to be."

Mr. Blake's version in *The Lamp*, 1856, is good too in its own style—

> "Nature will tremble with affright
> And Death recoil before the sight,
> When God shall come to judge with might."

The word *creatura* is, of course, used as we now say "the creation;" it is all creation that is here stated to rise, not man simply; as Mr. T. D. Morgan has in this verse taken it—

> "Death shall grow pale and Nature quake
> To see created man awake,
> An answer to his Judge to make,"

nor does the last line prove Mr. Morgan right, for angels too are to be judged. I think we are familiar enough, from the Epistles of St.

Paul, with *the creature* in the sense of *the creation* to use it so here, though if we do we should apply no epithet to it. I do not speak positively; but if not this phrase, *creation* should be used in preference to *each* or *every creature* or *all creatures*—it seems hardly well to use the English form of the original word in any but the exact original sense; and such phrases as *the pale offender* (Lord Roscommon), or *the buried ages* (Father Caswall), should, strictly speaking, be kept for less literal versions.

But I must go on to my tabulation, which will be more incomplete even than usual; the phrases chosen (especially to represent the *stupebit*) are so very various that it is impossible to give them all, and a selection can be but made of some which are more important or less common.

Line i.—Nature and death, 60; death (alone), 7; nature (alone), 1; death and *all* nature, 1; death and time, 3; death and life, 2; death and creation, 1; earth and death, 1; death, earth, skies, 1; the world, 1.

Quake, 13; quiver, 1; shake, 1; shiver, 1. Other words beginning with q and s are quail, start, sink, shrink, sicken, swoon. Of phrases the commonest is stand (or be) aghast, 8; *stand at gaze*, 1.

Line ii.—The creature, 7; every (or each) creature, 7; the (or all) creatures, 5; creation, 12; the dead, 13; man, 4; mankind, 2; mortals, 2; earth, flesh.

Line iii.—Judge, 24; judge and master, 1; judicature, 1; God, 6.

Rise, or arise, 24; wake, or awake, 11.

Answer, 12; make (or give) answer, 12.

5. Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Unde mundus judicetur.

The judgment was set and the books were opened (Dan. 7: 10). This verse of Daniel the prophet would so plainly tell us, if we wanted telling, what book the "liber scriptus" is, or rather what books are represented by it, that the mistake of Mr. Hutton in the *Spectator* is a very strange one. He writes thus:

"Then shall the book divine appear
Where every word of God stands clear
For which the world must answer here,"

taking the "liber scriptus" to be the Bible; stating indeed in his subsequent analysis[1] that he so takes it. This is a solitary case; but into an error of another kind many translators have fallen by speaking only of what Dr. Dobbin calls our "daily defalcations," only, if one may so say, of the debtor's side of the account and disregarding the creditor's. But the book of judgment contains all deeds of men whatever, good and bad; and in a translation of the *Dies Iræ* the original should not be so far narrowed as to exclude its one-half. The true meaning is clearly given in Mackellar's version—

> "The written book will forth be brought
> With good and evil records fraught,
> And man be judged for deed and thought,"

in what must be called the "Thomas à Kempis" version—

> "Then is brought forth that great record
> Containing each thought, work and word
> Which damns or saves before this council board,"

and in another style by Mr. Justice O'Hagan, who remembered the text just quoted—

> "Open then with all recorded
> Stands the book from whence awarded
> Doom shall pass with deed accorded."

Little more need now be said on the two first lines of this verse; the actual words taken to turn *liber* and *mundus* are very commonly the best and simplest ones, *book* and *world;* and though a few idle epithets,[2] such as *the mystic leaves of the dread book*, are occasionally found, or the leaves "burn," or the whole book perhaps "glares," or is not a book at all, but a "huge unwieldly volume," a description which, suggesting as it does nothing but an enormous bank ledger, by no means adds to the dignity of the idea—yet the versions, where free from the mistakes already mentioned, are so far tolerably good. Where failures chiefly shew themselves is in the third line, either by sinking it altogether or by such careless work as this—

[1] This analysis is a singularly mistaken one. The writer writes of a *silver-toned* trumpet—of *flute-like* notes—charming all by *suasive coercion*, by *invisible compulsion*, before the judgment seat! Fancy such epithets of the trump of God.

[2] A version in *Lippincott's Magazine*, June, 1869, calls it "writ in blood;" which if intended to have any meaning is wrong, and if not, is idle.

"Comes that Judge His book unsealing,
Secret writ of doom revealing;
All attent *but none appealing.*"
—*Dr. Macgill*, 1876.

"Then the mighty book unsealing
Whence all deeds shall have revealing,
God shall judge *the world appealing.*"
—*Round Table*, N. Y., Feb. 23, 1867.

Which two versions I put together for the sake of shewing the directly opposite statements they make, the idle character of the former, and the mistaken one of the latter. For what appeal could then possibly be made? and if the idea be introduced which is expressed by the laxer use of the word, it should be worked out as Crashaw has worked it out in the grand lines—

"O that Judge, Whose hand, Whose eye,
None can endure, yet none can fly;"

where *none can endure* gives the cause which a lost soul may be perhaps imagined to attempt to shew, and then *none can fly* the utter uselessness of it. An appeal indeed there is, or rather has been; but it must be made in due time, before the time in which this verse places us; and this, too, Crashaw gives us—

"But Thou givest leave, dread Lord, that we
Take refuge from Thyself in Thee,"

to which appeal we shall come in the eighth verse, after the first six have described the judgment, and the seventh has shown the impossibility of an appeal *then*.

Line i.—Book, 54; books, 5; volume, 7; doomsday book, doomsday volume, doom-book, book of doom, each 1; record, 3; scroll, 2; roll, 2; writing, 2; pages, 2; page, 1.

Epithets. Written, 12; close-writ, 1; clear-writ, 1; of ages, 4; of record, 3; great, 3; awful, 3; solemn, 2.

Line ii.—Can hardly be tabulated.

Line iii.—World, 23; living and dead, 4; quick and dead, 6; judge, 5; arraign, 7.

6. Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit:
Nil inultum remanebit.

Of this verse the simplest and best rendering is probably that of Archbishop Trench—

> "When the Judge His place has ta'en,
> All things hid shall be made plain,
> Nothing unavenged remain;"

which is to be praised for its literal turning of *quicquid latet.*[3] In this phrase translators have often fallen into an error somewhat like that mentioned under the last verse. *Quicquid latet* is of course simply *all which is hidden;* but it has often been taken for *all* sin *which is hidden,* an idea which does not come in till the third line. This second line is the really important one of the verse; as to the others, the great majority of translators have used the word *Judge;* one or two have contented themselves with suggesting it in some such phrase as *that awful session,* and one has substituted the name of the attribute *Justice;* Father Aylward has adopted the unusual form *Lord of Judgment.* Of these the word *Judge,* as the commonest, is also the best. Lastly, where the third line is literally turned, the favorite words have usually been *unavenged, unrequited* or *unpunished,* of which the former seems preferable as less common and yet intelligible. There is a various reading *incultum,* meaning simply, I suppose, neglected; but it does not appear to have been much adopted by translators—though in truth there are plenty of vague versions which might just as well stand for one as the other.

Line i.—Judge, 48; sits, shall sit, be seated, etc., 22; take, claim, ascend, etc., throne, 9; seat, 8; chair, 2; station, 2; place, 1; session, 4; assize, 1.

Line ii.—If in this line a man should turn to his algebra and calculate the number of permutations and combinations of such words as *hidden, secret; thoughts, works, deeds, feelings,* not omitting the different forms of the two first, such as *hid, secret* as an adjective, *secret* as a substantive, *secreted,* etc.; if a man, I say, did this, his total would not very much exceed the number of different versions I have found. And equally numerous are the representations of *apparebit.*

Line iii.—Unavenged, 15; unrevenged, 1; unpunished, 5; unrequited, 2; remain, 8; escape, 6; pass, 2.

[3] The only objection is the elision in "ta'en." Anything forced for the sake of rhyme is objectionable.

COMMENT ON THE "DIES IRAE."

Stanzas IV–VI.

IV.	IV.
Mors stupebit et natura	Death and nature shall be amazed
Cum resurget creatura	When the creature shall rise again
Judicanti responsura.	To answer the Judge.

Death and Nature are personified. Death shall be astounded to find its ancient reign ended, its quiet thus disturbed, the primal curse at length removed, and the type of the Risen Lord followed, so far at least, by all the children of men. "And the sea gave up the dead that were in it; and death and hell gave up the dead that were in them: and they were judged everyone according to their works" (Apoc. 20: 13). Nature shall share the amazement at witnessing the fulfilment of the prophecy of St. Paul: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality" (I Cor. 15: 53).

Is the singer speaking mystically as well as poetically in his personification of Death and Nature? To build up his poem into a logical and chronological sequence, he has rifled all parts of the Scriptures, both the Old and the New Testament; and just at this place, he seems to have in mind the awful description given by St. John in the Apocalypse.

The word *mors* offers no difficulty to the translators; but *natura* has been variously rendered. What does it really mean or suggest? It can not easily mean the "fair Nature" of one translator, that is, the external face or appearance of the earth and the sky.

Other translators understand it to mean the "great frame" of the universe. The oath of the Angel that "Time shall be no longer" (Apoc. 10: 6) is echoed by Father Caswall's version in its rendering of *natura* by "time." Others, perhaps considering that the poet meant some opposition between the words *mors* and *natura*, and doubtless justifying their contention on the ground of the relation between *natura* and *nascor*, have ventured, as prettily as daringly, to translate *natura* by "life." Thus Dr. Schaff in one of his German versions:—

Tod und Leben seh'n mit Beben
Die Geschöpfe sich erheben,
Antwort vor Gericht zu geben—

although in another version he wanders farther afield, with the picture of the Apocalypse in his mind:

Erd' und Hölle werden zittern
In des Weltgerichts Gewittern,
Die das Todtenreich erschüttern.

Spurred on, doubtless, by the desire to avoid monotony, Dr. Duffield frequently omits the "Death and Nature" entirely, giving a paraphrastic version,—his eighteen translations almost compelling him thereto. Similarly, W. W. Nevin gives both words in six of his nine renderings, while one has "Death and Life," and the remaining two have "Nature" only:—

Nature reels in blanched surprise
When the sheeted dead arise
And falter to the grand assize.

Nature cowers with faint and quiver
When in a weird spectral river
Death and Hell their dead deliver.

The Catholic versions, which as a rule stick with remarkable pertinacity to the text of the Latin throughout the hymn, attempting no interpretation and following the tradition of literalness established by the translators of the Douay Bible, seeking first of all a direct and simple rendering, have nevertheless used some freedom in translating this stanza of the hymn. Mr. Warren, while praising highly the qualities of simplicity and fidelity exhibited by Roman Catholic translators of the hymn, has quoted but few illustrations, comparatively, in his analysis of the several stanzas of the hymn. Partly, therefore, in recognition of the excellent versions of those of "the household of the Faith," and partly in illustration of the stanza now under consideration, we shall give here a few quotations from Catholic translations. As a rule our American versions render *mors* and *natura* by "death" and "nature." The first translation given below is that of Mr. Charles H. A. Esling, whose many versions of the Latin hymns have received recognition from Protestant as well as from Catholic sources. His version appeared in the *Catholic Record*, a monthly magazine published in Philadelphia. Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 appeared in the *Catholic World*. The last named probably first appeared in the *Sunday Press*, under the pseudonym of "Rev. John Bird, of Albany," and afterwards in the *Catholic World* with the initials

"C. W." Its author was the Rev. Clarence A. Walworth, a priest of undoubted poetic gifts as well as theological learning. The version afterwards appeared in "*Andiarocte and Other Poems, Hymns, etc.* By Rev. C. A. W."[1] The version is unique in its rhymic build, having sometimes three, sometimes two, and sometimes no rhymes in the stanzas.

1. C. H. A. ESLING. 1874.

Death and Nature see with wonder
The dead burst their tombs asunder,
Answering those tones of thunder.

2. JOSEPH J. MARRIN. 1882.

All Nature, and e'en Death shall quail
When, rising from the grave's dark vale,
Mankind pleads at the judgment rail.

3. J. D. VAN BUREN. 1881.

Death in stupor, Nature quaking
When the dead are seen awaking,
Each to summons answer making.

4. GEORGE M. DAVIE. 1884.

Death and Nature stand aghast,
As the Legions of the Past
Rise to meet their doom at last.

5. J. M. BROWN. 1884.

Nature and Death amazed will stand
When that innumerable band
Shall rise to answer God's command.

6. REV. C. A. WALWORTH.

Death shall stand aghast, and Nature,
When from dust the summoned creature
Rises trembling to make answer.

No. 7, by Miss Emery, first appeared in the Boston *Advertiser* of March 21, 1887, and reappeared in the *Sacred Heart Review*, Boston, November 26, 1904. No. 8 first appeared in the *Student*,[2] November, 1890 or 1891, signed with the single initial "G." It was written doubtless by the Rev. F. P. Garesché, S.J. It afterwards appeared in a fly-sheet. No. 9, by the Rev. Florence J. Sullivan, S.J., written some time after 1895, similarly appeared in a fly-sheet. No. 10 was published in THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, December, 1895. Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14, by the Rev. J. E. Dunn, of Catonsville, Md., are still in manuscript, having been composed the present year. No. 12, in trochaic 5s, was suggested by the version in iambic 6s which appeared last month in THE DOLPHIN.

7. SUSAN L. EMERY. 1887.

Death stands wondering and all Nature
At the uprising of the creature,
To meet its awful Judge and Teacher.

8. REV. F. P. GARESCHÉ, S.J.

Nature and Death, in dread surprise
Will shudder, as all men arise
To answer at that dread assize.

9. REV. F. J. SULLIVAN, S.J.

Both Death and Nature stand aghast,
As man the creature wakes at last,
His Judge to answer for the past.

10. REV. H. F. FAIRBANKS. 1895.

Death and Nature with surprise
Shall behold the creature rise,
And in judgment make replies.

[1] Putnam, New York, 1888.

[2] Immaculate Conception College, New Orleans.

11. REV. J. E. DUNN. 1904.

Death and Nature stand aghast :
Creatures risen must at last
To the Judge unfold their past.

12. REV. J. E. DUNN.

Death and Nature, quake !
Creatures shall awake
Answer strict to make.

13. REV. J. E. DUNN.

Nature and Death, aghast,
Shall quail when men at last
Rise to unfold their past.

14. REV. J. E. DUNN.

Death and Nature shall affrighted
Quail, when men shall rise, now cited
To respond, that wrong be righted.

All of the quotations from versions by American Catholics, as just given, stick closely to the original. Not so the versions by our British brethren. Father Caswall, who, in his *Lyra Catholica*, translated all the hymns of the Roman Breviary and Missal, translates *natura* by "time." He is followed by "F. J. P." (Mrs. Partridge) in the *Catholic Hymnal*, whose version has been ascribed variously to Father Faber, and to the Rev. A. D. Wackerbarth.

1. REV. EDWARD CASWALL. 1848.

Time and death it doth appal,
To see the buried ages all
Rise to answer at the call.

2. MRS. PARTRIDGE ("F. J. P."), 1860.

Death and time in consternation
Then shall stand, while all creation
Rises at that dread citation.

Charles Kent, in the *Month*, 1874, retains the two words, but in nearly all else departs from the original. The Rev. Dr. Wallace (*Hymns of the Church*, 1874) similarly departs from the original in the second line.

3. CHARLES KENT. 1874.

Nature, death, aghast, affrighted,
Then will view from depths benighted
Myriad life flames re-ignited.

4. REV. DR. WALLACE. 1874.

Death and nature stand confounded,
Seeing man, of clay compounded,
Rise to hear his doom propounded.

Dr. Wallace's "of clay compounded" was, doubtless, suggested by the necessities of rhyme; but the effect gained was not happy, as he forthwith proceeded to rhyme it with "propounded." The Dominican Prior Aylward left behind him at his death many translations of Latin hymns, and amongst them a rendering of the *Dies Irae*, over which he appears to have spent much time and effort, resulting in many tentative stanzas. Two variations are given here :

5. REV. J. D. AYLWARD.

Nature and death in dumb surprise
Shall see the ancient dead arise
To stand before the Judge's eyes.

6. REV. J. D. AYLWARD.

Death and nature in surprise
Shall behold the dead arise
Summoned to that last assize.

Justice O'Hagan's translation (*Irish Monthly*, 1874) is very good, as is also that of the Rev. W. F. Wingfield (in *Prayers for the Dead*, 1845; also in Shipley's *Annus Sanctus*, 1884).

7. J. O'HAGAN. 1874.

Startled death and nature sicken
Thus to see the creature quicken
Waiting judgment terror-stricken.

8. REV. W. F. WINGFIELD. 1845.

Now death and nature in amaze
Behold the Lord his creatures raise
To meet the Judge's awful gaze.

The first of the following versions is that of the *Daily Exercises of the Devout Rosarists* (Amsterdam, 1657), bearing on its title-page the initials "A. C.," and "T. V.," of the Order of St. Bennet. The second is that of *The Great Sacrifice of the New Law expounded by the Figures of the Old*, by "James Dymock, Clergyman, 1687."

9. THE ROSARISTS. 1657.

Nature and death shall stand at gaze
When creatures shall their bodies raise
And answer for their sore-spent days.

10. REV. JAMES DYMOCK. 1687.

Death and nature both shall quake
When mankind from death shall wake
Rising his accounts to make.

The first of the following versions is that printed anonymously in *The Following of Christ*, 1694. The second is the one commonly attributed to Lord Roscommon, but probably with greater justice to Dryden, whose authorship of this version, as well as of versions of many other Latin hymns, Mr. Orby Shipley has done so much to point out and to prove.

11. ANON. 1694.

Amazed will death and nature be
When they shall every creature see
Intent to answer his dread scrutiny.

12. DRYDEN OR ROSCOMMON.

Nature and death shall with surprise
Behold the pale offender rise
And view the Judge with conscious eyes.

The paraphrastic translation of Canon Husenbeth appeared in the *Missal for the Laity*, 1831. It is in sestet form, the third and sixth lines rhyming. It is to be regretted that this particular stanza should represent so poorly the occasional excellence of the version. Opposite to it we shall place the version of the Very Rev. W. Hilton, V. G., which appeared in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1883.

13. REV. F. C. HUSENBETH, 1831.

Nature and death shall see arrayed
Poor trembling man for judgment raised
Leaving the dreary tomb.

14. VERY REV. W. HILTON. 1883.

Death and nature shall affrighted
Rising see the creature cited
And before the Judge indicted.

The version of Richard Dalton Williams, in the *Manual of the Sisters of Charity* (1848), links two stanzas of the Latin in a single 8-lined stanza, the fourth and eighth lines rhyming. The version is quite paraphrastic; as also is that of Crashaw, in *Steps to the Temple* (1646), which we place beside that of Williams.

15. R. D. WILLIAMS. 1848.

Death sees in mute surprise
Ashes to doom arise—
Dust unto God replies—
God in His anger.

16. RICHARD CRASHAW. 1646.

Horror of Nature, Hell, and Death!
When a deep groan from beneath
Shall cry, "We come, we come!" and all
The caves of night answer one call.

The version of the Right Rev. John Maccarthy, Bishop of Cloyne, appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (July, 1888). Beside it we place that of the Rev. John A. Jackman, Ord. Min., which appeared in *St. Anthony's Annals* (Dublin, November, 1904).

17. BISHOP MACCARTHY. 1888.

Nature and death shall stand amazed
When they shall see the dead upraised
That their past lives may be appraised.

18. REV. JOHN JACKMAN, O.M. 1904.

Nature is stupefied, and Death,
When creatures, who resume their breath,
Answer to what the wise Judge saith.

We shall conclude our quotations from British sources with the fourth stanza of the version of Father Ignatius Ryder, Superior of the Oratory at Birmingham. The translation, for a copy of which we are indebted to the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J., editor of the *Irish Monthly*, was reprinted in full in that magazine, August, 1902, with the editor's comment,—"a very beautiful and original version."

REV. IGNATIUS RYDER.

Death and nature stand aghast
At the creature hurrying past,
Answering to the Judge at last.

Two more illustrations (but American ones) and we shall have finished. The first is taken from the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW (April, 1890); the second, still in manuscript, is by Albert Reynaud, Counsellor-at-Law, New York City.

19. ECCLES. REVIEW. 1890.

Death and nature, awed, unduly
See the creature rising newly
To the Judge to answer truly.

20. ALBERT REYNAUD. 1905.

Death aghast and nature see
Rise whence every grave may be
Creation answering God's decree.

The stanzas quoted here from thirty-five British and American Catholic versions will serve to illustrate somewhat the activity of Catholics in translation of the hymn, and the wide limits of interpretation some of them have taken in rendering this fourth stanza of the *Dies Irae*.

V.	V.
Liber scriptus proferetur	The written Book shall be brought forth
In quo totum continetur	In which all is contained
Unde mundus judicetur.	Whence the world is to be judged.

"The judgment sat and the books were opened" (Dan. 7: 10). "And I saw the dead, great and small, standing in the presence of the throne, and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books, according to their works" (Apoc. 20: 12).

Daniel sees in his vision "books"; St. John also sees "books." In so far they agree; but St. John adds: "And another book was opened, which is the book of life." Wherein does the distinction lie? St. Augustine understands by the "books," those of the Old and New Testaments, which contain all the laws of God and their sanctions stated; and by the "book," the record of each one's life, "to show what commandments each man has done or omitted to do."

In this sense have practically all the translations understood the *liber scriptus;* and the unlucky exegesis of Mr. Hutton (*Spectator,* March 7, 1868), who renders the phrase by "the written Bible," has been ridiculed by other editors than Mr. Warren. The following stanza would indeed seem to take the ground from under Mr. Hutton's feet; for it continues the thought of the bringing forth of the *liber scriptus* with: "When therefore the Judge shall have been seated, whatsoever is hidden shall be revealed, and nothing shall escape its appropriate punishment." There have been, however, other interpretations. St. Anselm understands by the *liber vitae* of St. John, the life of our Saviour; the Angelic Doctor contends[3] for the interpretation "Book of the predestined," and of the predestined unto glory,[4] whether irrevocably by absolute predestination or merely through the posses-

[3] *Summa Theol.*, I, q. 24, art. 1. [4] *Ib.*, art 2.

sion of sanctifying grace (which is forfeited by mortal sin) and therefore not irrevocably.[5] Cornelius a Lapide understands the Apocalypse here to speak of absolute election, inasmuch as at the Judgment the record of the soul is a finished record.

There can be hardly a doubt that the author of *Dies Irae* had in mind the passage of the Apocalypse in writing *liber scriptus* and not *libri scripti;* and it seems probable that he had also in mind the interpretation of St. Augustine, given above. Perhaps we may find in this stanza, therefore, another intimation that the author could scarcely have been a Dominican, at the time when the Angelic Doctor was lecturing on the *liber vitae.* St. Thomas dissents from the opinion of St. Augustine in the gentlest possible manner (as was his custom when differing from anybody), and finds a sense in which that opinion can be verified. And he indicates this sense very neatly; but let us hear St. Augustine himself.[6] By the "books," he says, "we are to understand the sacred books, old and new, that out of them it might be shown what commandments God had enjoined; and that book of the life of each man is to show what commandments each man has done or omitted to do." A material interpretation of this book would, he continues, make it of incalculably ample dimensions, for it shall contain all the thoughts, words, actions, of all mankind for all the ages,—it is the "book of Life." He concludes that by the "book" is meant a certain divine power by virtue of which a full record of its past is presented to each soul, so that this knowledge may excuse or accuse; and that this divine power is called a "book" because in it, as in an opened volume, each may read his judgment.

Hereupon Sixtus Senensis, the Dominican who has become famous—or notorious—for his depreciation of the *Dies Irae* as an "uncouth poem," remarks: "Thus St. Augustine, whose view seems to have been in the mind of the author of that uncouth poem (*inconditi rhythmi*) which the Church sings in the sacred mysteries for the dead:

> Liber scriptus proferetur
> In quo totum continetur
> Unde mundus judicetur."

[5] *Ib.*, art. 3.

[6] *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 14.

To sneer at such a hymn was a hardy thing for Sixtus of Siena to do; and all he succeeded in accomplishing against it was to furnish an easy argument for its Franciscan authorship. Saintsbury hints, in his *Flourishing of Romance* (p. 9), at more modern critics of what he styles "the greatest of all hymns, and one of the greatest of all poems, the *Dies Irae*." He says: "There have been attempts—more than one of them—to make out that the *Dies Irae* is no such wonderful thing after all; attempts which are, perhaps, the extreme examples of that cheap and despicable paradox which thinks to escape the charge of blind docility by the affectation of heterodox independence. The judgment of the greatest (and not always of the most pious) men of letters of modern times may confirm those who are uncomfortable without authority in a different opinion. Fortunately there is not likely ever to be lack of those who, authority or no authority, in youth and in age, after much reading or without much, in all time of their tribulation and in all time of their wealth, will hold those wonderful triplets, be they Thomas of Celano's or another's, as nearly or quite the most perfect wedding of sound to sense that they know." A Roland for an Oliver; and it is not unlikely that we must thank a Sixtus for a Saintsbury.

Or, instead of Sixtus, did Saintsbury have in mind—("There have been attempts—more than one of them," he says)—the writer in *Notes and Queries* (July 27, 1850), who, not having the courage of his convictions, contented himself with signing the letter "C" to his communication? This critic's diatribe was occasioned by the terms "extremely beautiful" and "magnificent," applied to the *Dies Irae* by some of the correspondents of *N. and Q.*, against which he desired to file a protest. He thinks the hymn "not deserving any such praise either for its poetry or its piety." He considers the first stanza the best, though he is "not quite sure that even the merit of that be not its jingle, in which King David and the Sibyl are strangely enough brought together to testify of the day of judgment. Some of the triplets appear to me," he concludes, "very poor, and hardly above macaronic Latin." Macaronic Latin, quotha! The *inconditus rhythmus* of Sixtus of Siena was a gentle phrase in comparison, although either might well serve to account for the evident indig-

nation of so great a critic as Saintsbury. To his sensitive appreciation of the *Dies Irae*, it is possible that the very praise of a writer in the British *Quarterly* (xxxviii, 39) proved somewhat offensive, inasmuch as, while proclaiming the sublimity of the hymn, he couples with his praises such expressions as "uncouth Latin" and "barbarous Leonine rhyme." This writer was speaking of "Psalmody"; and having shown how beautiful certain of the Ambrosian hymns were, although not phrased in the purest of classical Latin, he proceeds to consider the claim of some mediæval hymns: "But if we have already almost lost caste," he says, "among classical critics of the old school, we fear that we shall excite their horror still more by proclaiming how highly we admire the sublimity, we use no humbler term, of a hymn composed in uncouth Latin and barbarous Leonine rhyme. Spirit of Dr. Parr, repose in peace! We, however, shelter ourselves behind the authority of a writer whom, in point of taste, we are inclined to consider the representative of the old school of classical English poetry, that of Gray and Mason—Mr. Mathias. This distinguished scholar, who, in the decline of a life devoted to the most elegant literary pursuits, is basking in the delicious climate and inhaling the airs and poetry of his beloved Italy, has put forth an unpretending tract, entitled 'Excerpta ex Hymnis Antiquis,' in which he has anticipated some of our selections. The effect of the hymn to which we allude we must give in his own rich and nervous Latin." Mr. Mathias speaks of having entered St. Peter's at Rome one afternoon and hearing the full choir singing the *Dies Irae*, and of the tremendous effect upon his soul. He quotes several stanzas, which the writer in the *Quarterly* repeats, of the *Dies Irae*. "We are sincerely of opinion," he continues, "that the hymn will justify this lofty panegyric. Most of our readers are familiar with Luther's 'O God, what do I see and hear, The end of things created'; and Heber's Advent Hymn is admirable; but to our taste the simplicity and homely strength of the old monkish verse surpasses every hymn on a similar subject. It has the merit common to some others—it seems to suggest its own music."

The article in the *Quarterly* was probably written by Dean Milman. The excerpt we have made shows how deeply the

author was impressed by the sublimity of the Hymn, even if he found fault with its technical qualities considered as a Latin poem—technical qualities which, as we have seen, were the very things selected by Saintsbury for praise. The Dean subsequently modified somewhat the harshness of his terminology, and in his *Latin Christianity*[7] referred to the "rude grandeur" of the hymn, which made it, together with the *Stabat Mater* (because of the "tenderness" of this Marian hymn), "stand unrivalled" in Latin hymnody.

VI.	VI.
Judex ergo cum sedebit,	When therefore the Judge shall be seated,
Quidquid latet apparebit ;	Whatsoever lies hid shall be seen ;
Nil inultum remanebit.	Nothing shall remain unpunished.

The five stanzas from *Judex ergo* to *Non sit cassus* arouse the enthusiasm of Saintsbury; for in them "not a word," he thinks, "could be displaced or replaced by another without loss."

This stanza, describing the formal seating of the Judge, is the second of the three stanzas used by Goethe for his "Faust;" on hearing it, Marguerite is overwhelmed with fear.

In a Manuscript of the twelfth century (found in Edélestand du Meril and Mone), containing nearly four hundred lines, from which two stanzas have already been quoted as forming an introduction to the *Dies Irae*,[8] occurs a stanza which may be quoted here as suggestive of this strophe, the last line of which is practically identical with the last line of the quatrain:

Expavesco miser multum
Judicis severum vultum,
Cui latebit nil occultum,
Et manebit nil inultum.

This sixth stanza of the *Dies Irae* closes the epic or narrative part of the hymn, the remaining stanzas being intensely lyric in character. This will, therefore, be a fitting place to consider the contention of one of the most recent translators of the hymn, W. W. Nevin,[9] that, as the hymn is redolent of the terminology of mediæval jurisprudence, a translation should seek to preserve,

[7] Book 14, Ch. IV.

[8] See DOLPHIN, January, 1905.

[9] *Dies Irae.* Nine Original English Versions. By W. W. Nevin, M.A. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

as far as may be, the legal phraseology of modern vernaculars: "It was many years ago," he writes, "while studying for the law, that my attention, in reading the *Dies Irae*, was arrested by the remarkable amount of legal phraseology used in its brief lines. Witness as to this: 'Teste,' 'Judex,' 'Judicanti responsura,' 'Cuncta stricte,' 'Judex cum sedebit,' 'Quem patronum,' 'Juste Judex,' 'Diem rationis,' 'Culpa,' 'Reus,' 'Gere curam,' 'Reus judicandus;' and every verse is gloomy with the black imagery and depressing atmosphere of the court-room. It is a picture of a criminal trial, as criminals were tried in the thirteenth century—dismal, hopeless, hapless." He thinks it "hard for any one, not read in the history of criminal jurisprudence, adequately to conceive the terrible and hopeless surroundings that environed the unhappy accused, put on trial in mediæval times. . . . The prisoner at the bar stood alone, without friends, without rights, without a cause, removed from human aid, and apparently from human sympathies. The very charge seemed to take him out of this world, and throw him on the kinder mercies of the next. . . . It is hard for us now to conceive of such merciless conditions, but even in later times, and under the milder common law of England, a prisoner on trial for a capital crime was not so much as allowed counsel. Indeed, this privilege was never fully attained until the reign of William IV, and then by statute." Accordingly, following this conception that the poem is a picture of a trial, Mr. Nevin "endeavored, in translating it, wherever possible, to render the Latin legal terms by the equivalent terms or formula in use in our land and time, or as near as can be, for it is not always easy to find the exact equivalent in English, for even Spanish or French legal terms in use at this very hour, and this difficulty increases very greatly in going back six hundred years."

It is needless to point out that many translators have used legal phraseology, and indeed could scarce avoid doing so, in rendering the words which are common both to legal and to ordinary speech: *e.g.*, Judge, judgment, culprit, crime, criminal, plea, plead, cite, summon (and their derivatives), etc. Some versions, moreover, have consciously borrowed, and with effort, from distinctively legal terminology; as in the words "assize" "doomsday book," "session," "daysman," "counsel." Mr. Nevin's nine

versions strive manfully to add to the atmosphere of the court-room by such translations as these:

Coget omnes ante thronum.
All before the Bar compelling (No. 1.)
To the Judgment Bar appalling (No. 2).
As to the Bar all souls are led (No. 5).
To the Bar the quick and dead (No. 6.)
All flesh before the Bar is found (No. 7).
Shall compel all to the Bar (No. 8).
To the judgment Bar are led (No. 9.)

Judicanti responsura suggests such phrases as these: "Answer at the final hearing," "At the summons," etc., "Rangèd at the last assize," "to judgment come," "To answer at the bar of doom," etc. *Ante diem rationis* appears as: "Ere the last adjudication," "Ere the day of last citation," "Ere the final condemnation," "Ere is closed the final writ," "Ere the Day without appeal," "When comes the day of last assize." *Gere curam* appears as: "Take my cause" (used thrice), "Let my last end be thy commission." *Huic ergo parce, Deus* appears as: "Spare him, God, the undefended," " . . . the lone defendant,"" . . . in that inquest."

In his desire to make his English versions of the hymn a counterpart of the legalistic Latin of the original as he conceives it, Mr. Nevin tries to have every verse, as far as may be, "gloomy with the black imagery and despairing atmosphere of the court-room"; for, he says, the hymn "is a picture of a criminal trial as criminal trials were tried in the thirteenth century—dismal, hopeless, hapless." But has he not ventured rather far, in translating the "thronus" of the Apocalypse into "Bar"? Has he indeed caught the finest argument of the hymn at all? Has he heightened the tragic feature of the hymn by comparing—rather than contrasting—its terrors with the criminal jurisprudence of the thirteenth century, as he conceives that jurisprudence? Did it give an added touch to any dramatic conception of the Last Judgment in the minds of men in the thirteenth century to say of it, that it should reproduce, in its "hopeless, hapless" character, the features assumed to have characterized the jurisprudence of that century,—that, in short, it was to be the Last of those earthly trials with which people were familiar, "dismal,

hopeless, hapless"? Men get finally used to "dismal, hopeless, hapless" procedures; and if the Last Judgment were to be only like the innumerable human ones that had preceded it, much of the Hymn's terrific power must have been lost for the minds for whom it was written. But if Mr. Nevin's view of the old jurisprudence is much exaggerated; if trials were not quite so dismal, hopeless, and hapless as he conceives them to have been; if it is not true, even of the "judicium Dei," that "everything proceeded on the fundamental assumption that the accused was guilty in the eyes of man, and was to be cleared or saved only by the special interference of God,"—if, in short, a contrast could be effected by the hymn between the gleams of hope that lit up an orderly trial of the thirteenth century, and the dreadfully rigorous scrutiny (*Cuncta stricte discussurus*), the certain disclosure of the most hidden offences (*Quidquid latet apparebit*), the inevitable character of the punishment (*Nil inultum remanebit*) to be meted out even to the slightest fault, the loneliness (*Quem patronum rogaturus?*) of the culprit and the hopelessness of his case (*Quum vix justus sit securus*),—if such a contrast and opposition, rather than the comparison and quasi-identity conceived by Mr. Nevin, could be set up by the hymn, surely its dramatic horror would be immeasurably increased, while the argument based on that dreadful disparity of the human and the divine judgments would be immeasurably strengthened. And such we believe to be the fact. Trials were not quite the dismal and hapless things pictured by Mr. Nevin and other commentators on the jurisprudence of the thirteenth century. Walter Map, the courtly Archdeacon of the time of Henry II, "himself a judge," although he wrote probably a century before the composition of the *Dies Irae*, could see the force lying in the argument of contrast, when, singing of the Last Judgment, he said:—

> Ibi nihil proderit quidquid allegare,
> Neque vel excipere neque replicare,
> Neque ad apostolicam sedem appellare;
> Reus condemnabitur nec dicetur quare.
>
> Cogitate, miseri, qui et qualis estis,
> Quid in hoc judicio dicere potestis
> Ubi nullus codicis locus aut digestis—

for, unlike the human courts of law, the Last Judgment will not permit defensive allegation, noting of exceptions, formal replies to the exceptions, appeals to another venue, etc.; and there Christ shall be accuser, witness, and judge—"idem erit judex, actor, testis."

It is scarcely logical to categorize under the one heading of the "Middle Ages" the various centuries in which various usual and unusual forms of legal procedure were used, and to jumble together under the one title of "Criminal Jurisprudence" such various procedures as (1) Compurgation, which flourished in Germany and other northern nations of Europe down to the sixteenth century, and was formally abolished in England only in the year of grace 1833; (2) Ordeals, prohibited by Innocent III († 1216); and (3) the Wager of Battle, "which, though even more strenuously opposed by the Church, did not meet with the same hostility from the secular authorities, and is to be met with occasionally as late as the sixteenth century,[10] and in England was not formally abolished until 1819. The "Judgment of God" was appealed to when the question to be settled transcended the wisdom of men, and cannot be considered the normal method of legal procedure, whether in mediæval or in modern England. "But it was in this barbaric, bloody and revengeful way," writes Mr. Nevin, "that these people in the thirteenth century tried each other, and expected God to try themselves." "Throughout the Middle Ages," says another writer, "the theory of the law placed the burden of proof on the negative side; and it may be counted a most important step in the progress of European civilization when the Germanic idea finally gave place to the Roman maxim that it is impossible to prove a negative, and that the necessity of producing evidence lies with the accuser." [11]

"Throughout the Middle Ages," says the last-quoted writer. The phrase is at least ambiguous; for we find Peter the Venerable replying to the strictures of St. Bernard on the monks of Clugny: "It would be proper for you who make these charges to substantiate them by some written authority, to which we must yield, and not let them rest on your bare assertion, by which we are not

[10] *Trans. and Reprints*, etc., Vol. IV, No. 4.

[11] *Trans. and Rep.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 2.

greatly moved. For thus the law requires, that he who accuses any one should prove his charge, since the burthen of proof always lies on the accuser" (Maitland's *Dark Ages*, No. xxiii). The Latin text can be found in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. clxxxix, col. 143. This letter of Peter's was written, not in the thirteenth century, but in the early part of the twelfth. It urges, as a well-known principle of the law, that *the burden of proof rests always with the accuser*, "actori probatio semper incumbit."

This idea of contrast rather than identity of procedure should, we think, be emphasized, if we shall hope to appreciate at its best the terrible picture drawn by the grand Hymn of Judgment.. Mr. Nevin's interpretation does not appeal to us as a happy one; and, without presuming to compare our layman's knowledge of "the criminal jurisprudence of the thirteenth century" with that of a lawyer discoursing on the history of his profession, we nevertheless venture to think that his statement of the features of that mediæval jurisprudence is too sweeping. The reply of Peter the Venerable (a slight portion of which we have just reproduced above) to the chapter of accusations composed by St. Bernard is a voice heard, not in "the thirteenth century," but as early as the twelfth; and it utters, as a matter of common notoriety, the great principle that "on the accuser rests the burden of proof." But however the matter be, the translation itself of the hymn is hardly affected by Mr. Nevin's interpretation. He may crowd as much legal phraseology as he well can into the English rendering, without doing violence to the sentiment of the picture—which is, after all, one of a judgment—drawn by the mediæval artist. The only thing we are now contending for is the propriety of contrasting, rather than of identifying, the dreadful conditions of the Last Assize with those of any earthly tribunal whatsoever, ancient, mediæval, or modern.

In this sixth stanza we reach the conclusion of the descriptive part of the hymn. Within the narrow limits of eighteen lines the mediæval singer has marvellously condensed the various Biblical allusions to the Last Judgment, and has constructed a picture as majestic and overpowering as the great fresco of Michelangelo.

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suddenly upon them and in such manner that it must be solved by the first means which come to hand. But in places where the former choir of mixed voices is suddenly disbanded, and the liturgical choir is not yet ready for a public appearance, the pastors would do well to have Low Mass, or to engage a temporary unison choir of three or four men. If a sanctuary choir starts upon its career in a crude, unfinished state, it will lay up for itself the criticism and opposition of many years to come. If, on the contrary, it enters upon the performance of its functions in a condition of thorough fitness, its success is infallibly ensured.

The prudent pastor, in this regard, is he who, reading the signs of the times, and observing the straws which indicate how the wind blows, at once sets about preparing a chancel-choir. If he commences intelligently and permits himself a full year for preparation, there is no doubt but that the new liturgical choir will enter upon its career in such manner as abundantly to vindicate its installation and to win the approval of all interested.

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NOTES ON THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE "DIES IRAE."

IN the January and February issues of THE DOLPHIN the first six stanzas of the *Dies Irae* were treated from the double standpoint of their accurate version into English metre and rhyme, and their literary history. The eighteen lines comprised in the six stanzas sketch rapidly but with great vividness the picture of the Judgment. The remainder of the Hymn, which gives the "lyric cry" of the singer as he contemplates such a picture, is connected with the preceding verses by the seventh stanza, which serves as a bridge to connect the descriptive with the lyric part. With this seventh stanza the present paper deals first; and the remaining stanzas will be dealt with in this issue and the following (May). —EDITOR.

STANZAS VII–X.

By the late C. F. S. WARREN, M.A.

7. Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?

The verse, particularly the third line, is based on the Vulgate of 1 Peter 4 : 18.

The Roman Catholic versions are, as has been said, often among the best; but it is a mistake to turn *miser* by *wicked*, as is done by a writer in the *Catholic Manual*, New York, 1870. The word has sometimes of course that sense; but here it refers to the defenceless state of a soul at the Great Judgment—defenceless in all external ways; his own good deeds must be his defence. The version is this:—

"What plea shall *wicked* I pretend,
What patron move to stand my friend,
When scarce the just themselves defend?"

In other respects it is good, in the second line especially; but as regards the turning of *miser* some one such as this is better:—

"What shall wretched I then plead,
Who for me shall intercede
When the righteous scarce is freed?"

ISAAC WILLIAMS.

The words, however, *intercede* or *mediate* can hardly, I think, be considered right; in *patronus* there is a *legal* metaphor which by many translators is hardly enough brought out. The *patronus* is the advocate, the counsel; and to substitute, as Isaac Williams, Dr. Irons, and others, have so often done, the idea of intercession or mediation is to alter the verse altogether. Mediation is the intervention between two parties of one who has somewhat in common with both; to intercede is to set before the Judge on the culprit's behalf either one's own merits, as our Lord Jesus Christ does in heaven, or those of another as a Christian priest does Christ's on earth. This intercession we have in the tenth verse: the idea in this is properly of a counsel only; and the despairing soul who puts the question sees at once that no "counsel" can be had, that more than a "counsel" is wanted, and so turns to Christ as the Intercessor in the ninth and tenth verses. Thus it seems that to turn the *patronus* into an intercessor is to interfere with the due order of the Hymn. Of those who have not done this, many have as usual contented themselves with vague generalities, of which the most that can be said is that they do not exclude the true idea.

Of the few who have categorically expressed the correct idea, Drummond of Hawthornden and two or three more have used the word *advocate;* others have retained the original word in its English form: this is not perhaps to be recommended, though it may be done. Possibly some way might be found of employing the word *counsel* in its technical sense; this I have never seen done, for the following curious line of course does not employ it so:—

> "What shall be my pleading tearful,
> Where shall I *get counsel cheerful,*
> When the just almost are fearful?"
>
> —WALLACE, *Hymns of the* [*R. C.*] *Church.*

If it could be done, it must be done very carefully: for after all the "counsel" is to be such a "counsel" whose office shall so to say merge into intercession; he shall be in short *The Intercessor* Himself; and in this light the best word of all, if it were not so unusual a one, might possibly be *daysman*, actually employed by one American.

The third line need not detain us except to mention the occasional use of the word *saints* instead of the more common *just* or *righteous.*

Line i.—Wretch or wretched, 36; sinner, 4; guilty, 3; frail man, 2; wicked, 1; unworthy, 1. Plead or plea, 40; say, 14; answer, 5; reply, 2.

Line ii.—Intercede, etc., 24; patron, 14 (-saint, 1); guardian, 1 (-creature, 1); advocate, 7; defend or defender, 6; friend, 4; protector, protection, 3; mediate, mediation, 2; mediator, saviour, daysman.

Line iii.—Just, 52; righteous, 18; saint or saints, 6; good, godly, faithful, holiest. Of *sit securus* the turnings are very various.

8. Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

How many both in reality and fiction has this verse consoled! Some may remember two very different tales: Mr. Neale's repentant knight transfixed by the Saracens in the "Stories of the Crusades," whose prayer is rewarded by the armed Prior from the sally absolving him at the last moment; and Meinhold's poor "Amber Witch" racked for her supposed sorcery.

The objections to translating the first line of this verse by *King of majesty tremendous* have been already stated, neither need be repeated: that translation has probably arisen simply from the need for a double rhyme (though there are some few instances of *King of tremendous majesty* as an iambic line), for it is of older date than the present crowd of versions of Latin hymns, and therefore than the fashion to which Neale was so much attached of using original Latin words in their English form. Of this I know but one thoroughly successful instance—

"They stand, those halls of Syon,
Conjubilant with song"—

has so succeeded; *conjubilant* is a fine word and expressive, and unless H. A. M. (for which there was hardly a necessity) had altered it into *all jubilant*, would probably by this time have gone near to take its place in the language; but *trucidation* (already quoted), and *cunctipotent*, and *prætergressing*, and others like them, are too pedantic to be of much value. They supply no real want, and only remind one of the Latinisms of some early pedantic writers.

The second line is perhaps the hardest line in the whole Hymn to turn well; indeed the difficulty of this verse and the two next is so

great that very few writers indeed can be said to have succeeded. The meaning of *salvandos* is this,—those who, Almighty God sees in His infinite foreknowledge, will endure unto the end, for those are they who shall be saved, and they are saved *gratis*, according to His mercy and not by works of righteousness which they have done. And the difficulty is to express this in English without falling into Calvinistic views of predestination on the one hand, or watering the words down into nothing on the other. The coexistence of God's purposes and man's free-will is one of the most difficult problems in theology; and albeit this is not the place to attempt to discuss such a problem, we must remember its existence; for the remembrance, if it do not show us how to translate the verse, will at least show us how we must not. And most writers, in fact, appear to have been content with the latter knowledge without trying to acquire the former; for out of my two hundred versions (in round numbers) there is but a very small proportion in which it has been attempted to translate *salvandos*. One, Dr. Kynaston, has left out the whole verse; his version, however, is but a fragment; some have left out the word, as Isaac Williams—

> "King of dreadful majesty,
> *Saving souls* in mercy free,
> Fount of pity, save Thou me;"

many have taken it as if it were equal to *salvatos*. In two American versions, and in Mr. D. T. Morgan's, we have the word *elect; chosen* is also found. Mr. Hoskyns-Abrahall has boldly used the technical word *predestined*, wherein he was followed by the ten-syllable version of the *Sacred Heart*, 1880; and other expressions are *saints*, which has the same indecision as Drummond's word: *heirs of grace;* and the very literal one, *those who saved shall be.*[1] I should consider that the choice lay between the last two versions of *salvandos;* and of these—slightly cumbrous as it is—I should prefer the latter, since even in *heirs of grace* there may be thought a little uncertainty. For the translation of *gratis* the best word is probably the simple *freely*, though *gratis* itself is used in the "Thomas à Kempis" version, 1694, and later also in the *Catholic Choralist*, 1842, and in the *Lamp*, 1859; while the phrase in Mr. Simms' version is *Whose free salvation none can buy. Without fee* has also been used, but does not commend itself.

[1] "Those who saved *would* be," once or twice found, is of course wrong.

In the third line there are a few cases of the use of the word *piety*, but it is an objectionable use ; for this word now represents only our love toward God and the fruit of that love, and can hardly be used of God's love and compassion toward us, which is the meaning of the original. The shorter form of the word, *pity*, is very common, and between this, *love*, and *mercy*, all which are found, there hardly seems to be much choice. *Kindness* has been occasionally adopted, but seems to produce the same sense of something wanting which one gets from Tate and Brady's 51st Psalm—

> " Have mercy, Lord, on me,
> As Thou wert ever kind."

The inexorable necessities of rhyme have driven Dr. Stryker to the unusual phrase *Mercy-Laver*, a synonym for *fount*, commoner in old Puritan language than now.

Line i.—King, 69 ; sovereign, 3 ; monarch, potentate, saviour ; majesty, 33 ; splendor, 5 ; glory, 4 ; exaltation, 3 ; dread, awe, might, awful, 18 ; tremendous, 13 ; dreadful, 11 ; dread (adj.), 3 ; dreaded, 1 ; majestic, 6 ; supreme, 2 ; supernal, 2 ; fearful, severe, glorious, wondrous, divine, resplendent.

Line ii.—The saved, 4 ; elect, 4 ; saints, 2 ; thine, 2 ; those who saved shall be, 2 ; chosen, 3 ; free or freely, 39.

Line iii.—Fount, 45 ; fountain, 4 ; font, 2 ; source, 5 ; spring, 3 ; head, 1 ; pity, 19 ; piety, 4 ; love, 10 ; mercy, 8 ; salvation, 4 ; blessing, 3 ; blessedness, 1 ; bliss, 1 ; compassion, 2 ; kindness, goodness, consolation, clemency, healing.

> 9. Recordare, Jesu pie,
> Quod sum causa Tuæ viæ :
> Ne me perdas illâ die.

" Uncle Tom's Cabin," like many other books which had an enormous circulation at their first publishing, is now comparatively little read ; but some will still remember how the dying St. Clare murmurs these words, and how the authoress in a note quotes one of Dr. Coles' versions, and says, " These lines have been thus rather inadequately translated."[1] Rather or very inadequate indeed are many versions

[1] The version quoted is the first, and must therefore have been quoted from its publication in the *Newark Advertiser* in 1847. " Uncle Tom " first appeared I think in 1852.

besides the American physician's; the first difficulty is to find a good word for *pie*, since it is now hardly possible to use "pious" with the Rosarists. The idea is of course carried on from the *fons pietatis* of the last verse, and is therefore literally *pitiful, compassionate;* but it has always been rendered by epithets somewhat more general than these, and it would indeed be difficult to find a literal and admissible translation. Of those which actually have been used, *good* is perhaps the best and most susceptible of the required notion; *kind, sweet, gentle,* are all unsatisfactory, all have about them an irreverent familiarity unless used with the utmost care;[3] and perhaps it would be on the whole better to omit any epithet for which there is no real need. Such as *blest* and *holy* of course introduce a new idea, and are objectionable on that account. Nor should such boldness be allowed as that of Mr. Brownell, 1847, who replaces the petition *Recordare, Jesu pie* by the assurance *Jesu, Thou hast not forgot.*

In the second line a new meaning has been suggested for the *via* by one of the latest American translators, Dr. Franklin Johnson, 1884. "To a Romanist," he says, "the signification is clear. He has heard much of the *via dolorosa* through which our Saviour bore His cross. . . . To the Romanist the *way* of Christ is a conception as definite as is His *cup* to the Protestant. I have no doubt that Thomas de Celano was thinking of the *via dolorosa* when he wrote the Hymn, and that he considered it a symbol of all the sufferings which the Son of God endured." It is a pleasing theory, but far-fetched, and requires proof which it has not got: there is, for instance, no proof that the phrase *via dolorosa* was in use so early, and Farrar indeed says ("Life of Christ," p. 691, note, ed. Cassell), "the so-called *Via dolorosa* does not seem to be mentioned earlier than the fourteenth century." It will be better to retain the older meaning; though even in the application of this there has been some uncertainty; for the *via* is not our Lord's way *to* earth or *from* earth, but *upon* earth, and further still, the whole of that way; not His Incarnation or Crucifixion exclusively, but His whole course

"From the poor manger to the bitter cross."

[3] "God infinitely condescends, man must not infinitely presume," are the words of solemn warning used on this subject in some Notes on the Appendix to H.A.M. in the *Literary Churchman* for December 12, 1868. A reply to this was written by the late Dr. Dykes, which was again rejoined to in February and March, 1869, by three most valuable papers "On Hymns." To these it would have been well if more attention had been paid by subsequent hymnologists.

omitted, and that what is referred to in *crucem passus* is the actual crucifixion, as is plainly shown by *redemisti*.

The great beauty of Lord Macaulay's paraphrase must not be omitted:—

"Though I plead not at Thy throne
Aught that I for Thee have done,
Do not Thou unmindful be
Of what Thou hast borne for me,
Of the wandering, of the scorn,
Of the scourge and of the thorn.
Jesus, hast Thou borne the pain,
And hath all been borne in vain?"

The "Bona Mors" paraphrase represents part of this verse by a triplet with a very curious expression:—

"In such dire anguish and distressful pain
Angels did weep and *heart-broke rocks complain:*
Thy labors were immense, O let them not be vain."

Line i.—Derivatives of to seek, 51; of to sit, 12; faint, 5; tired, 2; dreary.

Line ii.—Cross, 43; tree, 8.

Line iii.—Toil, 12; labor, 9; pain, 5; passion, 5; suffering, 4; anguish, 3; agony, 2; travail, 2; pangs, 2; vain, 23; fruitless, 7; wasted, 4; lost, 3; defeated, 2; crossed, 1.

COMMENT ON THE "DIES IRAE."

Stanzas VII–X.

VII.	VII.
Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,	What shall I, wretched, then say,
Quem patronum rogaturus,	What patron (counsel?) shall I entreat,
Cum vix justus sit securus?	When scarce the just shall be without anxiety?

Is the poet borrowing the word *patronus* from ascetical or liturgical phraseology, or from that of the old Roman Law? Mr. Warren strongly contends for the legal rather than the ascetical metaphor, for "advocate" or "counsel" rather than "intercessor." If Mr. Nevin's assertion be correct, that in the criminal jurisprudence of the Middle Ages "the prisoner was not

allowed to have counsel,"[1] and that the Hymn but presents a replica of the picture of a trial in those ages, when "the prisoner at the bar stood alone, without friends, without rights, without a cause," we shall be forced to interpret *patronus* as "intercessor," or "patron saint," or some such equivalent word or phrase. And indeed the context of the last two lines of the stanza would of itself support such a view; for we can understand the poet as saying: "When the saints themselves are not without anxiety, which one of them shall act as intercessor for me?" The real context of thought may, on the other hand, lie in the first and third line: "What counsel will take up the cause of a wretched sinner like myself, at a time when even holy souls are not without fear?"

Perhaps the poet had neither view exclusively in mind, and thought of the *patronus* as he was in the ordinary relations of life as much as in his relation of counsel or pleader for his client in the courts of Roman law; and the word "patron," as vaguely implying all of these relations even in English, may be the best word to use in translation. The real difficulty encountered by the translator scarcely lies, however, in the English rendering of the Latin *patronus*, so much as in the insistent temptation, suggested by the needs and, in this case, by the facilities, of rhyme, to use "intercede" in the second line (rhyming so beautifully—almost "inevitably"—with "plead" in the first and with "freed" or "need" in the third).

Mohnike favors *nec* instead of *vix* in the last line. *Nec* is the reading of the Mantuan and the Haemmerlin text. The meaning would be slightly altered by *nec*, and not for the better; for while there is an apparent strengthening of the argument, the strength is only apparent and not real, as the argument is not meant to be mathematical but rhetorical. To say that "the just shall not be without anxiety" on that day is not in reality as strong a contention as to say that "even the just shall scarce be without anxiety." Mohnike, however, thinks the poet but reflected the thought in Job (4: 18): "Behold they that serve him are not steadfast, and in his angels he found wickedness"; and again (*Ib.* 15: 15): "Behold among his saints none is unchangeable, and the heavens are not pure in his sight." Daniel rejects the

[1] See *Preface* to his little volume, p. 5.

reading *nec* and the arguments supporting it, and thinks we have only another illustration of the necessity under which a Latin hymnologist lies of becoming familiar with the Vulgate; for the line,

Cum vix justus sit securus,

is merely an echo of St. Peter's First Epistle (4: 18): "Etsi *justus* quidem VIX *salvabitur*, impius et peccator ubi comparebunt?" ("And if the just man shall scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?") St. Anselm repeats the word: "A dextris erunt peccata accusantia, a sinistris infinita daemonia, subtus horrendum chaos inferni, desuper judex iratus, foris mundus ardens, intus conscientia urens. *Ibi* VIX *justus salvabitur*. Heu miser peccator sic deprehensus quo fugies? latere enim est impossibile, apparere intolerabile." ("At your right hand there shall be your accusing sins, at the left an infinite legion of demons, beneath your feet the frightful chaos of hell, in front of you the angry Judge, without you a world in flames, within you a conscience that burns. Then shall the just man scarcely be saved. Ah, miserable sinner thus surrounded, whither will you flee? for to lie hid is impossible, and to appear is intolerable.")

This stanza is the last of the three quoted by Goethe in *Faust*. In expression, it is marvellously condensed; in emotional quality, dramatic to the highest degree; poetically, it is one of the five flawless stanzas referred to by Saintsbury. In the Hymn, it is the bridge separating, or rather uniting, the epic and the lyric stanzas; for the first six stanzas describe the scene, while the remaining stanzas are wholly given up to the anguish of one of the multitude there present in spirit,—his cry of utter loneliness and friendlessness, his realization of the tremendous issues at stake, his appeal to the pity of that Christ who had sought for him with weary feet, who had borne for him the heavy weight of the Cross, who had suffered and died upon that Cross for the very culprit that now, in anticipation of that Day of Judgment, pleads before Him. This stanza begins the litany of supplication which has seemed like the universal "Cry of the Human" to its Judge and Saviour; and in the great "Book of Life" that shall be displayed at the Judgment, doubtless will be recorded the history of many a conversion to justice through the instrumentality of this very

picture of the "Day of Wrath." Occasionally we get glimpses of this power in the lives of men. Lockhart records of Sir Walter Scott, whose fragment of the Hymn leaves the regret that he did not complete a full rendering, that upon his death-bed he "very often" muttered verses of the *Dies Irae:* "Whatever we could follow him in was some fragment of the Bible, or some petition of the Litany, or a verse of some psalm in the old Scotch metrical version, or some of the magnificent hymns of the Romish (*sic*) ritual. We very often heard distinctly the cadences of the *Dies Irae.*"

So, too, St. Alphonsus refers in his *Preparation for Death*[2] to the incident in the life of the Venerable Ancina (the Oratorian who as Bishop of Saluzzo died in the odor of sanctity) which proved the means of a complete change of calling for him. "Hearing the *Dies Irae* sung," says St. Alphonsus, "and reflecting on the terror of the soul when she shall be presented before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, the Venerable P. Juvenal Ancina took, and afterwards executed the resolution of forsaking the world." The incident is narrated more fully in Bacci's Life of the Venerable Servant of God (Rome, 1671). Ancina had studied at the University of Turin, had taken with distinction his degrees of Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Medicine, and had been practising his profession with great success before this vivid realization of the Judgment Day so touched his heart as to cause him to dedicate his whole energies to the more perfect calling of the religious life. The true turning-points of life are not often recognized as such, and are less often chronicled by biographers. The literary history of the Hymn is very incomplete; but we may well conjecture that if it were written the record would be a marvellous one.

The power of the Hymn over the hearts of our separated brethren is evidenced, not alone in the large number of recorded versions made into German[3] and English, but by the formal

[2] Consideration xxiv, First Point.

[3] The first recorded version into German was that of Martin von Cochem, 1613. Like the earlier English versions, it is not in the metre of the original Latin:

(*Catholic Hymn Book, Munich, 1613.*)

An jenem Tag, nach David's Sag,
Soll Gottes Zorn erbrinnen:
Durch Feuer's Flamm, muss allesamm
Gleichwie das Wachs zerrinnen.

estimates given of its power and the literary uses made of it. "Frederick von Meyer, a Senator of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and author of a revision of Luther's German Bible, in introducing two original translations of the *Dies Irae*, calls it 'an awful poem, poor in imagery, all feeling. Like a hammer it beats the human breast with three mysterious rhyme-strokes. With the unfeeling person who can read it without terror, or hear it without awe, I would not live under one roof. I wish it could be sounded into the ears of the impenitent and hypocrites every Ash Wednesday, or Good Friday, or any other day of humiliation and prayer in all the churches.'"[4] Schaff also quotes from Victor Cousin, the celebrated French philosopher: "The *Dies Irae*, recited only, produces the most terrible effect. In those fearful words, every blow tells, so to speak; each word contains a distinct sentiment, an idea at once profound and determinate. The intellect advances at each step, and the heart rushes on in its turn."[5] Goethe's introduction of a few lines of the Hymn into *Faust*, and Sir Walter Scott's fragment in the *Lay* are sufficiently famous. The hymn seems to have impressed Scott very much. "Tantus labor non sit cassus," he quotes in a letter to Bunsen, in reference to the

The earliest translation in the original metre appears to be that of Andraeas Gryphius, 1659:

Zorntag! Tag, der, was wir ehren,
Wird durch schnelle Glut zerstören,
Wie Sibyll und Petrus lehren.

Schaff (who, in his *Literature and Poetry*, pp. 173–182, gives nearly fifty illustrative quotations from as many versions into German, and adds two from his own pen) declares that the best among the German versions are those of Schlegel, Silbert, Bunsen, Knapp and Daniel. "But none of them has become so popular as the free reproduction in the old German hymn, 'Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit,' by Bartholomaeus Ringwaldt, 1582." The activity thus early begun received great stimulus, in Germany as in England, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Mohnike publishing (1824) specimens of 24 versions, while eight years later he was able to add 21 more to his list. In 1840 Lisco, in his monograph on the *Dies Irae*, gave 54 complete versions as well as a number of fragments; and three years later in his *Stabat Mater* gave in an appendix 17 additional versions. It is probable that the list would now rise to over 100, Schaff estimating, in 1890, that the number then was from 80 to 100. Just as the English list can boast such names as those of Crashaw, Dryden, Sir Walter Scott, Macaulay, so the German includes versions by Herder and A. W. von Schlegel.

[4] Schaff, p. 141.

[5] *Lectures on the True, the Beautiful and the Good*, p. 177.

German "War of Liberation" of 1813; and in a letter to Crabbe he remarks: "To my Gothic ear, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Dies Irae*, and some of the other hymns of the Catholic Church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan; the one has the gloomy dignity of a Gothic church, and reminds us constantly of the worship to which it is dedicated; the other is more like a pagan temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous deities." Lockhart tells us how, in his dying hours, he was distinctly overheard repeating frequently "the cadence of the *Dies Irae*." Like Goethe and Scott, Justinus Kerner, "the Swabian poet and mystic," introduced effectively the first two lines of the Hymn in his *Wahnsinnige Brüder*, to exhibit the awful power of the doom-foreboding cadences on hearts that have spurned heavenly things. James Clarence Mangan's translation is so exquisite, and is withal apparently so little known, that we may be pardoned for giving it entire in a footnote.[6]

[6] THE FOUR IDIOT BROTHERS.

Dried, as 'twere, to skeleton chips,
  In the Madhouse found I four:
From their white and shrivelled lips
  Cometh language never more.
Ghastly, stony, stiff, each brother
Gazes vacant on the other;

Till the midnight hour be come;
  Bristles then erect their hair,
And their lips, all day so dumb,
  Utter slowly to the air:
"*Dies irae, dies illa,*
Solvet saeclum in favilla."

Four bold brothers once were these,
  Riotous and reprobate,
Whose rake-hellish revelries
  Terrified the more sedate.
Ghostly guide and good adviser
Tried in vain to make them wiser.

On his deathbed spake their sire—
  "Hear your father from his tomb!
Rouse not GOD'S eternal ire;
  Ponder well the day of doom,
'*Dies irae, dies illa,*
Solvet saeclum in favilla.'"

So spake he, and died: the Four
  All unmoved beheld him die.
Happy he!—his labors o'er,
  He was ta'en to bliss on high,
While his sons, like very devils
Loosed from Hell, pursued their revels.

Still they courted each excess
  Atheism and Vice could dare;
Ironhearted, feelingless,
  Not a hair of theirs grew grayer.
"Live," they cried, "while life enables!
GOD and devil alike are fables!"

Once at midnight, as the Four
  Riotously reeled along,
From an open temple-door
  Streamed a flood of holy song,
"Cease, ye hounds, your yelling noises!"
Cried the devil by their voices.

Through the temple vast and dim
  Goes the unhallowed greeting, while
Still the singers chant their hymn.
  Hark! it echoes down the aisle—
"*Dies irae, dies illa,*
Solvet saeclum in favilla."

VIII.	VIII.
Rex tremendae majestatis, Qui salvandos salvas gratis, Salva me, fons pietatis.	King of awful majesty, Who savest freely those who are to be saved, Save me, fount of loving pity.

An interesting addition to the literary history of the Hymn is furnished us anent this eighth stanza by the Rev. Dr. Thompson, editor of Duffield's *Latin Hymns*, in his treatment of the *Dies Irae:* "Carlyle shows us the Romanticist tragedian Werner quoting the eighth stanza in his strange 'last testament,' as his reason for having written neither a defence nor an accusation of his life: 'With trembling I reflect that I myself shall first learn in its whole terrific compass what I properly was, when these lines shall be read by men; that is to say, in a point of time which for me will be no time; in a condition in which all experience will for me be too late:

'Rex tremendae majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis!!!'"

Mr. Warren notes that the simplicity of the English "tremendous" as a rendering of the Latin *tremendae* seems to have proved too great an attraction for translators, who forget that the English connotations of "tremendous" are not exactly those of *tremendae.* Yet the word can not be easily rendered into English,—such words as "fearful" and "awful," which might literally translate it, having acquired colloquially a most trivial meaning; while such a phrase as "to-be-feared" would never answer the

On the instant, stricken as
By the wrath of GOD they stand,
Each dull eyeball fixed like glass,
Mute each eye, unnerved each hand,
Blanched their hair and wan their features,
Speechless, mindless, idiot creatures!

And now, dried to skeleton chips,
In the Mad-cell sit the Four,
Moveless:—from their blasted lips
Cometh language never more.
Ghastly, stony, stiff, each brother
Gazes vacant on the other;

Till the midnight hour be come;
Bristles then erect their hair,
And their lips, all day so dumb,
Utter slowly to the air:
"*Dies irae, dies illa,*
Solvet saeclum in favilla."

Mangan was a half-mystic himself, and the poem of Kerner must have moved him to seek special vividness in this translation. As was Mangan's custom, he everywhere writes the name of GOD in capitals.

necessities of rhythm, metre, condensation of phrase, or perhaps of rhyme.

The second line—

Qui salvandos salvas gratis—

has given trouble theologically to more than one translator and commentator, quite apart from its crucial demands upon the flexibility of English phraseology in the rendering of *salvandos*,—"those-who-are-to-be-saved." "There seems to be no utility," thinks Mr. Orby Shipley, "in treating of the dogmatic question which underlies the language of the eighth triplet in connection with the words *Qui salvandos salvas gratis.* This line has considerably exercised certain Protestant translators; but it is no concern of ours. We may be well content with the sanction for the orthodoxy of Thomas of Celano's theology which is afforded by the adoption of his hymn by the Catholic Church." Either very little or very much must indeed be said by anyone who undertakes to treat of "election." Briefly it may be said that by corresponding with grace we may merit additional grace; but it remains nevertheless true that, as Cardinal Manning somewhere says, we must confront the great fact that God holds in His own hands the first and last links in the chain of salvation—Baptism and Final Perseverance—the former of which we can in no wise merit, and the latter only *de congruo;* for history seems to concur with theology in the sad reflection of Cardinal Newman:—

"The white-haired saint may fail at last,
The surest guide a wanderer prove:
Death only binds us fast
To the great shore of love!"

But while the grace of final perseverance is in the strictest sense a gratuitous gift of God; while, that is to say, we may not merit such a grace *de condigno* or as something proportioned to the good works we shall have performed,—still, we can merit it *de congruo* or as something which the mercy of Christ may accord to works which, juridically considered, have no such legal reward. And so the immortal Hymn reminds us that we should appeal to the "sweet pity of Christ":

Salva me, fons pietatis!

It is somewhat curious to notice, in this connection, that the last stanza of Charles Wesley's "Jesus, lover of my soul," sounds almost like a translation of

Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis.

The last four lines run:

"Thou of life the Fountain art;
Freely let me take of Thee:
Spring Thou up within my heart;
Rise to all eternity."

On the other hand, Augustus Toplady, whose Calvinism was so fiercely arrayed against the Arminianism of Wesley, seemed to have gained the day polemically in the mere writing of the famous hymn *Rock of Ages*. "Nothing in my hand I bring" is not, it is needless to say, the Catholic idea of meriting *de congruo:*

"Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy cross I cling;
Naked, come to Thee for dress,
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the fountain fly,
Wash me, Saviour, or I die."

The "fons pietatis" appears again here, as in Wesley's hymn; and both may have had in mind the great line of the *Dies Irae*. The Catholic will have, however, a different thought from Toplady's in singing the *Dies Irae* verse. Gladstone translated the *Rock of Ages* into Latin in the style of the mediæval poets. The above stanza runs in his version:

"Nil in manu mecum fero,
Sed me versus crucem gero;
Vestimenta nudus oro,
Opem debilis imploro;
Fontem Christi quaero immundus,
Nisi laves, moribundus."

It is a strange, but withal an interesting fact, to record in this connection, that in the Appendix to the American edition of Father Caswall's *Lyra Catholica*,[7] the *Rock of Ages* should have been printed entire, with the first line of Gladstone's version into

[7] New York: Edward Dunigan and Brother. 1851. P. 349.

Latin as a heading or title (as though the hymn were a translation from the Latin): *Jesus pro me perforatus.* The prepossession in the mind of the Catholic compiler that the hymn was merely an English rendering of a Latin hymn probably forbade an adverse interpretation of the non-Catholic sentiment of the line: "Nothing in my hand I bring." It is true, of course, that after we shall have done all things commanded, we should, as our Saviour warns us, account ourselves "unprofitable servants;" and there is therefore a true sense in which the Catholic may humbly declare:

> "Nothing in my hand I bring,
> Simply to Thy cross I cling;"

but that sense is scarcely Toplady's meaning in the two lines of his famous hymn.

Speaking of this eighth stanza of the *Dies Irae*, the Protestant Mr. Hutton, one of its translators, wrote in the London *Spectator* (March 7, 1868):—

"This tense and majestic and intense verse is the very key of the whole hymn. It is an individual appeal on the part of an individual soul which has been following up slowly the whole train of thought connected with the scene in which it will have to play a part. And thus realizing that Christ's will to save is his only hope, the writer goes on to draw out a personal appeal to Christ why He should not lose even this single grain of His possible harvest. Was it not Christ's love for each individual sinner that brought Him down from heaven to earth; that moved Him to wander over the earth, where He had nowhere to lay His head; that inspired Him, when He sat weary by the well of Samaria; that led Him to bear His cross and endure His passion? Should such acts as these fail of their effect, even in the case of the worst of sinners who desires to be saved? The writer hopes nothing from his own prayers, but much from the love shown in the pardon of such sinners as Mary Magdalene and the thief upon the cross. The whole tenor of the hymn is one of personal appeal, of loving devotion, of humble contrition. When it is grandest, it is sweetest and contains least of physical imagery."

Mr. Hutton is in so far correct that the final appeal is to be made to the love of Christ; but such an appeal presupposes something on the part of the penitent:

Ingemisco tanquam reus,
Culpa rubet vultus meus—
Supplicanti parce, Deus!

The culprit must acknowledge his guilt, bewail his fault, and ask for pardon.

IX.	IX.
Recordare, Jesu pie,	Remember, loving Jesus,
Quod sum causa tuae viae :	That for me Thou camest on earth :
Ne me perdas illa die.	Lose me not upon that day.

The difficulty which Mr. Warren has with the rendering of *pie* by some such word as "loving," "sweet," "gentle," is not easily intelligible. He fears the suggestion, in such words, of too great familiarity with the infinite majesty of God; and he quotes with apparent approbation the "words of solemn warning" uttered by an annotator of *Hymns Ancient and Modern:* "God infinitely condescends, man must not infinitely presume." On the other hand, however, we must not forget that the loving effusiveness of Italian hearts—and the hymn is undoubtedly Italian in authorship—is the opposite pole of that legal and academic phraseology which, in English prayers, makes the soul seem to "memorialize" the Almighty, as Cardinal Wiseman acutely observes in his discussion of "Prayers." Besides, the whole Catholic attitude in prayer is one of pious familiarity with the Infinite,—not through a spirit of presumption, but through that "spirit of adoption of sons, whereby we cry Abba (Father)," as St. Paul so encouragingly has it (Rom. 8: 15). In addition to all this, it is to be noted that the Hymn has turned away, in the progress of its thought, from the engrossing picture of the stern and unrelenting Judge, to recall the picture of the loving Saviour, to whom the suppliant now appeals by all that marvellous excess of love and pity manifested in the life of Christ on earth. The Catholic, in short, belongs to the "household of the faith"; God is his Father; Christ is his Brother; Mary is his Mother; he is living "at home," and he enjoys the privilege of respectful familiarity with those of the household.

In the tender appeal which this stanza makes to the mercy and love of Christ, there lies a complete refutation of all such utterances as that of Lord Lindsay, who, while he pays the Hymn

the tribute of translation in his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847), takes occasion in the preface of that work to describe the wonderful Sequence as "expressive of the feelings of dread and almost of despair, with which Christians of the Middle Ages —taught to look on Christ as Jehovah, rather than the merciful Mediator through whose atoning Blood and all-sufficient merits the sinner is reconciled to his Maker—looked forward to the consummation of all things." But Lord Lindsay must have forgotten many hymnological treasures—not to speak of other religious monuments—of the Middle Ages, before he could pen such a statement concerning the Christians of those days. For instance, there is the exquisite and most pathetic hymn of St. Bernard—the *Jesu dulcis memoria*—which the Protestant Schaff calls "the sweetest and most evangelical hymn of the Middle Ages," and whose 200 lines are full of the "subjective loveliness" (to quote a phrase of the Anglican hymnologist, Dr. Neale) of that great saint. And he must also have forgotten the direct address by the same tender saint to each member of Christ's suffering Body, in the still longer hymn *Salve mundi Salutare*,—a hymn which has been a source of prolific inspiration to the most beautiful of Protestant hymns, such as the famous paraphrase of Paul Gerhardt. He must have forgotten the Eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas, the *Recordare sanctae Crucis* of St. Bonaventure, and—not to continue a list which could be swelled out to vast limits to illustrate the fact that the Christians of the Middle Ages looked on Christ as the Mediator and not, as Lord Lindsay suggests, as the Jewish Jehovah—the *Ad perennis vitae fontem* of St. Peter Damian, which looks forward to the consummation of all things not "with feelings of dread and almost despair," but even "as the hart panteth after the fountains of waters":—

> Ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitivit arida ;
> Claustra carnis praesto frangi clausa quaerit anima ;
> Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur exul frui patria.

"My thirsty heart hath panted for the fountain of everlasting life. My soul would break forthwith through this prison of flesh —it spreads its wings, it beats the bars, it struggles to break through its cage, poor exile, to gain its native skies." Is this Lord Lindsay's "dread and almost despair"? And yet the day

of liberation contemplated by the saint is the day of that "particular judgment" which shall be but ratified at the Last Assize. More directly contradictory of his thesis concerning the "feelings of dread and almost despair," however, is the long poem of the twelfth century from which we have already quoted some verses.[8] From a part of it dealing directly with the Last Judgment some stanzas were selected by Mrs. Charles for translation in *The Voice of Christian Life in Song*, which present us with the joyful aspect of that Day. Although her rendering does not follow the exact order of the original Latin, the poem is of such interest to us in this connection, both as illustrating the *Dies Irae* and as refuting the contention of Lord Lindsay, that we shall print her version here, and place opposite to it the appropriate stanzas from the Latin original :—

Dies illa, dies vitae, Dies lucis inauditae, Qua nox omnis destruetur Et mors ipsa morietur.	Lo! the day, the day of life, The day of unimagined light, The day when death itself shall die, And there shall be no more night.
Appropinquat enim dies In qua justis erit quies, Qua cessabunt persequentes, Et regnabunt patientes.	Steadily that day approacheth When the just shall find their rest, When the wicked cease from troubling, And the patient reign most blest.
Ecce rex desideratus Et a justis expectatus Jam festinat exoratus Ad salvandum praeparatus.	See the King desired for ages, By the just expected long; Long implored, at length He hasteth, Cometh with salvation strong.
O quam pium, o quam gratum, Quam suave, quam beatum Erit tunc Jesum videre His, qui eum dilexere!	Oh, how past all utterance happy, Sweet and joyful it will be When they who, unseen, have loved Him, Jesus face to face shall see.
O quam dulce, quam jocundum Erit tunc odisse mundum, Et quam triste, quam amarum Mundum habuisse carum.	In that day how good and pleasant, This poor world to have despised; And how mournful and how bitter, Dear that lost world to have prized.
O beati tunc lugentes Et pro Christo patientes, Quibus saeculi pressura Regna dat semper mansura.	Blessed then earth's patient mourners, Who for Christ have toiled and died, Driven by the world's rough pressure In those mansions to abide.

[8] See THE DOLPHIN for January, p. 51.

Ibi jam non erit metus,	There shall be no sighs nor weeping,
Neque luctus, neque fletus,	Not a shade of doubt or fear,
Non egestas, non senectus,	No old age, no want, nor sorrow,
Nullus denique defectus.	Nothing sick or lacking there.
Ibi pax erit perennis	There the peace will be unbroken,
Et laetitia solennis,	Deep and solemn joy be shed ;
Flos et decus juventutis	Youth in fadeless flower and freshness,
Et perfectio salutis.	And Salvation perfected.
Nemo potest cogitare	What will be the bliss and rapture
Quantum erit exultare,	None can dream and none can tell,
Tunc in coelis habitare	There to reign among the Angels,
Et cum angelis regnare.	In that heavenly home to dwell.
Ad hoc regnum me vocare,	To those realms, just Judge, oh call me,
Juste Judex, tunc dignare,	Deign to open that blest gate,
Quem exspecto, quem requiro,	Thou whom seeking, looking, longing,
Ad quem avidus suspiro.	I with eager hope await.

These stanzas present the joyful aspect of the Day of Judgment; but the poem nevertheless deals also, as it should, with the unhappy lot of the condemned souls :

O quam grave, quam immite	Ibi flammis exuretur
A sinistris erit : Ite !	Et a vermibus rodetur,
Cum a dextris : Vos venite !	Ab angustiis angetur,
Dicet rex, largitor vitae.	Qui salvari non meretur, etc.

It is unnecessary to illustrate further; for it is clear by this time that the mediæval mind saw in the Day of Judgment its terrors, indeed (as Christ would have all Christians, of whatever age, contemplate those terrors), but could also see its blessed joys,—could in spirit "look up" and see that their redemption was at hand.

It is strange that anyone should, in the face of such hymnological demonstrations as those we have referred to (and they form but a slight portion of the testimony that could easily be adduced), arraign the Middle Ages for ascetical harshness. It is strange, too, that the *Dies Irae* should be the text chosen for such comment as: "Taught to look on Christ as Jehovah rather than the merciful Mediator whose atoning Blood," etc. This generalization of the *Dies Irae* into a sweeping arraignment of the Middle Ages would be a piece of very poor logic, even were the logic based on a correct analysis of the great Sequence. But what could be more "evangelical" than the *Dies Irae* itself?

Recordare, Jesu pie
Quod sum causa tuae viae—

what is this but an appeal to Christ? not as the terrible Jehovah of the Old Law, but as the loving Mediator of the New Law, whose atoning Blood was made a possibility by the Incarnation, as expressly alluded to in the line:

Quod sum causa tuae viae?

And from this stanza until the end of the Hymn we find nothing but an elaboration of this one thought. "The atoning Blood and all-sufficient merits" of our Saviour appear in the next stanza:

Quaerens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit cassus!—

where the singer makes the very point that he has been purchased —*redemisti*—by the Blood shed upon the Cross for him. *Redemisti*,—Christ has not merely purchased the sinner: He has redeemed him, has paid the ransom necessary, has paid it completely; and the appeal is now to that love of Christ for the sinner, to the end that what has been so dearly bought may not be lost again:

Tantus labor non sit cassus!

And where are the "feelings of dread and almost of despair" in the stanza which chronicles the forgiveness shown to the "sinful woman" who in the Hymn is called Mary, and the mercy granted to the "penitent thief,"—instances of mercy on which the singer bases, not despair, but an explicit hope?

Mihi quoque spem dedisti!

The simple truth is that the hymnody of the Middle Ages, so replete with exquisite and direct allusions to the saving power of the Cross, demonstrates the very opposite thesis to that of Lord Lindsay, whose generalization, however, is shared by other similarly hasty reasoners; and if this were the place to do it, and if space sufficed, a very interesting paper might be constructed of merely hymnodal—not to speak of other sources of illustration—tributes to the fact we assert. With respect to the *Dies Irae*, we have shown that the Hymn of Judgment itself was made by its author to pay such a tribute. The Protestant Dr. Schaff recog-

nizes this fact when he says:[9] "The feeling of terror occasioned by that event (*i. e.*, the Judgment) culminates in the cry of repentance, ver. 7: 'Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,' etc.; but from this the poet rises at once to the prayer of faith, and takes refuge from the wrath to come in the infinite mercy of Him who suffered nameless pain for a guilty world, who pardoned the sinful Magdalene, and saved the dying robber."

X.	X.
Quaerens me sedisti lassus,	Seeking me Thou sattest weary;
Redemisti crucem passus:	Redeemedst me, suffering the cross;
Tantus labor non sit cassus.	Be not so-great a labor vain.

While the idea of resting (*sedisti*) during the long journey (*via* of the preceding stanza) is typical, as Mr. Warren is inclined to allow, of all the restings of Jesus, still there can be little doubt that the poet had in mind the exquisitely touching picture of our Lord resting by Jacob's Well, and awaiting the Samaritan woman. "Jesus, being wearied with his journey, sat thus at the well" (John 4: 6). And St. Augustine comments: "Not in vain was Jesus wearied. . . . Jesus was wearied with the journey for your sake." Jesus was indeed wearied "seeking the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The Sacred Humanity of Christ is presented here with such an appealing weakness as to touch every heart to pity and love. Dr. Johnson could not repeat the stanza *Quaerens me sedisti lassus* without shedding tears; and his emotion must be shared by all in some measure. Turning from the content of the stanza to its mere form, we meet "the climax of verbal harmony" of the five flawless stanzas beginning with *Judex ergo cum sedebit.* "The climax of verbal harmony," says Mr. Saintsbury,[10] "corresponding to and expressing religious passion and religious awe, is reached in the last,

Quaerens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus:
Tantus labor non sit cassus!—

where the sudden change from the dominant *e* sounds (except in the rhyme foot) of the first two lines to the *a*'s of the last is simply miraculous, and miraculously assisted by what may be called the

[9] *Christ in Song*, p. 373.
[10] *Flourishing of Romance*, p. 10.

internal sub-rhyme of *sedisti* and *redemisti*. This latter effect can rarely be attempted without a jingle: there is no jingle here, only an ineffable melody. After the *Dies Irae*, no poet could say that any effect of poetry was, as far as sound goes, unattainable, though few could have hoped to equal it, and perhaps no one except Dante and Shakespeare has fully done so." It is indeed interesting to listen to so eminent a critic praising in such apparently unmeasured terms a great mediæval hymn with which Catholics become so familiar from early childhood as to lose, perhaps, a sufficiently keen appreciation of its many and marvellous excellences.

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THE SOUL OF OLD JAPAN.[1]

A STUDY at once more timely and more attractive has seldom offered itself than that lately furnished by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn in his "Interpretation" (tentative as this professedly is) of the inner life of Japan.

So far as this is possible to a Western, the writer has learned to see with the eyes, hear with the ears, and think with the brain, of the Far East; and the object of this, the final work of his life, is on the one hand to indicate the breadth of the gulf by which this ancient world lies sundered from us; and on the other to explain as far as may be how so great a gulf has come to be.

It would be impossible without voluminous extracts to do justice to the suggestion of archaic charm with which the opening chapter abounds. "The Calling of the East" which here greets us is the voice of a past already old when history and literature were young. Many people, observes the writer, would be delighted, were it only possible, to step backwards into time and find themselves living for a while in the beautiful vanished world of Greek culture; but even could they do so, the privilege, archæologically speaking, would be by no means so great as that which the present still offers us in the existing life of Japan; for

[1] *Japan—An Attempt at Interpretation.* By Lafcadio Hearn. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. 1904.

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pretty stories of the butterflies, wonderfully protected by their colors, and of fishes and other animals coming under the same category, which have had to be corrected afterwards and which, now that the passing of Darwinism has become one of the stock subjects in all biological magazines, are seen to have been a good deal more fiction than anything that Verne wrote, but with unfortunate tendencies in the matter of unsettling conservative thought with regard to great truths, such as his works were never guilty of.

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NOTES ON THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE "DIES IRAE."

THE following articles by the Rev. Mr. Warren and the Rev. Dr. Henry conclude the series of papers on the *Dies Irae*. The Hymn has thus been adequately treated in respect both of its proper rendition into English and of its more general literary history. Should any of our readers, however, desire to supplement the treatment with quotation or reference, we should be grateful for the courtesy; and we take this occasion to acknowledge the kindness of those who have called our attention to

several translations into English which had escaped the notice of previous bibliographers of the Hymn.—THE EDITOR.

STANZAS XI—XVIII.

By the late C. F. S. WARREN, M.A.

11. Juste Judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis.

Like other lines in the Hymn, this first line is doubtless taken from the Vulgate, in Ps. 94: 1, "Deus ultionum"; retained as the title of the Psalm in the English Prayer-book version. This has been from the first translated as in the familiar beginning, "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth," and we may take such to be the primary meaning here.

But most translators have taken the passing on of the interpretation to the subject now in hand, according to Isaiah's verse, 35: 4, "Your God will come with vengeance," as thus—

"Thou just Judge of vengeance due,
Pardon of my sins renew,
Ere the reckoning day ensue."
—DYMOCK.

Other versions, of course, there are which so far as this first line is concerned are not unsatisfactory, but throughout they satisfy not: as where a writer begins with such a line as *Mighty Judge of retribution*, and going on successfully it may be with *Grant the gift of absolution*, is forced to close with *Ere the day of restitution*, or *execution*, or *dissolution*, or even *prosecution*—a lame and impotent conclusion. I know that an apology is due for lapsing into such a style of fault-finding; but it is hard to resist the temptation; and a man who deliberately chooses the difficult double rhymes when he might choose the easier single ones, has not so much right to claim forbearance, unless it be his firm conviction that he has no right to abandon the exact metre of the original; and even then it may be answered that the necessity is but imaginary, and the thought therefore nothing more than a delusion.

The third line supplies another of the many instances of Thomas of Celano's use of Scriptural language. *Ratio* is the word used by the Vulgate in the parables both of the Unmerciful Servant (Matt. 18)

and of the Talents (Matt. 25). The allusion is of course directly to the latter of the two parables, where the original phrase is "venit dominus . . . et posuit rationem." The corresponding English word every one will remember, "the lord of those servants cometh and reckoneth with them," and it has happened here what has not always happened in such cases, that the word *reckoning* has been very often adopted in the versions. Curiously enough too the Revised New Testament has adopted the identical participial form, altering the translation from *reckoneth* to *making a reckoning*.

Line i. — Judge, all but universal; avenger, dispenser; just, 21; righteous, 19; dread, great, severe, mighty, supreme, impartial, inexorable; vengeance, 8; retribution, 6; decision, 3; recompense, 2; decree, 1; penalty, 1.

Line ii.—Remission, 14; absolution, 9; pardon, 7; forgiveness, 2.

Line iii.—(Day of) reckoning, 19; accounting, 5; execution, 4; inquisition, 3; assizes or assize, 3; retribution, 2; restitution, 2; dissolution, 2; prosecution, 1; decision, division, revision, exaction, revealing, declaring, review, punishment, agony.

12. Ingemisco, tanquam reus:
Culpâ rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

"Reus" in the first line is not merely one against whom a charge may be brought, but one against whom a charge actually is brought; for the soul looks upon herself as already accused, if not, so to say without irreverence, "committed for trial"; this is shewn by the line *quem patronum rogaturus*. But there are very few translators (of those who are categorical; many as usual are vague and indistinct) who have thus marked out the word; one is Mr. D. T. Morgan—

"As one condemned I sigh apace;
All scarlet is my guilty face;
Lord, to a suppliant grant Thy grace."

With regard to the second line, we must remember that the soul is *still in the body* while she speaks; forgetfulness of this led "O," in the *Christian Remembrancer*, 1825, greatly struck with the seeming absurdity of attributing blushes to a disembodied spirit, to offer the following singular apology—

"Abashed and guilty would I kneel,
In blushes deep my shame conceal,
Could ghosts thus utter what they feel."

The two ways of turning the last line are to retain the impersonality of the original *supplicanti*, or to define it by adding *me*, or in some like manner; there are good versions of both kinds, and it is a matter on which opinions may very well be allowed to differ; still, however, perhaps the former plan is preferable—it is better on the whole to be literal while you can. As to such an ending as "thy suppliant groaning," or "moaning," this must be avoided at all risks; and more certainly still, if one of these words has been used in the first line, the other must not be rhymed with it in the third. I am indeed not very sure that they are now sufficiently dignified to be used at all.

Line i.—Groan, 32; sigh, 5; grieve, 2; mourn, 2; wail, sob. Guilty or guilt, 20; guilty creature, 2; guilty thing, 1; culprit, 7; condemned, 4; convicted, 2; arraigned, wretched, malefactor.

Line ii.—Shame, 22; guilt, 11; sin, 3. Blush (verb or noun), 25; flush, 3; burn, 5; dye, 5; sting, 1. Crimson, 7; scarlet, 2; red, 1. Face, 18; cheek, 10; *each* cheek, 1; brow, 4; feature, 2; visage 1.

Line iii.—Spare, 39; hear, 5; pity, 3; (grant or give) grace, 6; mercy, 5. Suppliant, 37; who supplicate, 1; supplicating cry, 1; beseecher, 1. God, 24; Lord, 16; Jesu, Saviour, Holy One.

13. Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti;
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

We come in this verse to another various reading worthy of notice. There can be no doubt that *Qui Mariam* as here given is the correct reading; but the same Paris Missal mentioned under verse 1 reads *Peccatricem*, and as there, so here too, alters the reading without any authority. It used to be held almost, so to say, as an article of faith, that the woman whose anointing of our Lord's feet is recorded in Luke 7 was no other than Mary Magdalene; opinion on this point began to change almost immediately after the Reformation (leading to the omission of St. Mary Magdalene's Day, 22d July, from the Second

Book of King Edward) . . . As this latter opinion grew, it would seem that editors (which few men would now do) considered themselves at liberty to alter the text of the Hymn accordingly; but there can surely be no objection to keeping the original reading as showing the old opinion, . . . any more than there can be in verse 1 to keeping *Teste David cum Sibylla*, even if the introduction of the Sibyl to a Christian hymn be thought questionable; and thus those translators, not very many, who have taken *Peccatricem* to turn, must be considered mistaken; their tabulation will as usual be given hereafter. Mr. Russell's doubt on this point has caused the very general line, "Peace Thy love to faith declared"; Dr. Coles is inconsistent with himself, for in his original he gives *Mariam*, and yet in two versions he translates *Peccatricem*.

In Doctor Coles' thirteenth version, a professed paraphrase, there is a rendering of some beauty—

> "When Mary Thy forgiveness sought,
> Wept, but articulated nought,
> Thou didst forgive; didst hear the brief
> Petition of the dying thief."

And one more version of his, which must be noticed as the only one to introduce the occasion on which Mary, as supposed, was absolved, is this—

> "Thou didst smile *on Mary's unction*,
> Tearful love and deep compunction,
> On the dying thief's confession."

"To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise"; so said our Saviour to the dying thief, and Paradise is not the same as Heaven; but there are writers who have disregarded this and given such a line as *Thou who ledst the thief to heaven*, or *Thou didst call the thief to heaven*; though such a one as *To the thief Thou openedst heaven*, or *didst promise heaven* may be passed as only expressing the implied promise of heaven necessarily to succeed paradise, not, like the others, its actual enjoyment by the thief. The error is an important one, for it involves—or it would involve if it were likely the translators thought what they were writing—nothing less than a denial of the Intermediate State; to which doctrine the slight attention paid by Protestantism has been and is one of the greatest blemishes of that religious system. Thomas of Celano has hinted at no doctrine in his original,

and therefore we are not bound to do so in our translations; but if we do, let us at least do like the awkward lines of Mr. Hoskyns-Abrahall, and hint at a correct one—

"Thou to Mary from pollution
Didst pronounce full absolution,
Nor wast to the felon dying
E'en Thy paradise denying."

The third line is a distinct avowal that hope has been given, and it is therefore wrong to turn it into a petition for the giving of hope, as is done by two versions of very opposite character; a Roman Catholic one—

"Thou who Mary of the garden
And the dying thief didst pardon,
Grant e'en me hope's heavenly guerdon."

—C. Kent.

and a Presbyterian one—

"Thou didst save the woman pleading,
And the thief beside Thee bleeding;
Grant me hope like pity needing;"

—Dr. Macgill.

and to this must be added that the hope still exists, the whole tenor of the verse rests in it; therefore Mr. Cayley in the *Church Times*, *(Thou) Once to me a hope appearedst*, is also wrong as hinting that the hope is gone. While a mistake of a different kind is in this—

"Thou to Mary gavest remission,
And didst hear the thief's petition;
Hope shall also cheer my vision."

—Dr. Wallace.

Mrs. Vansittart is altogether singular in introducing the legendary name of the thief from the Gospel of Nicodemus (Ante-Nicene Library, xvi, 187)—

"A pitying ear in mercy lend
As erst to Dismas Thou didst bend
And hope to Magdalen extend."

Lord Roscommon has also what I believe to be a unique version—

"Thou who wert moved with Mary's grief,
And by absolving of the thief
Hast given me hope, *now give relief.*"

Line i.—Mary, 50; Magdalene, 10; Mary Magdalene, 1; Magdalēnē, (four syllables[1]), 1; Mary of the garden (John 19: 41), 1; adulteress, 1; harlot (an American variation of Dr. Irons), 1; sinner, 3; her that sinned, frail one, lost one, sinner grieving, woman pleading, woman crying.
Line ii.—Thief, 61; robber, 13; malefactor, 1; heaven, 9; paradise, 1.
Line iii.—(Hope) hast given, etc., 36; give, etc. (a prayer), 6.

14. Preces meae non sunt dignae;
Sed Tu, bonus, fac benigne,
Ne perenni cremer igne.

There is here another various reading: the Hammerlein Codex has in the second line *bonas*, which Daniel prefers ("Placet Haemmerlini lectio"), but I find that hardly any translators have taken it except William Drummond of Hawthornden—

"My prayers imperfect are and weak,
But worthy of Thy grace them make,
And save me from hell's burning lake."

The translation of the first line is usually fairly literal, though, of course, some writers have added another word to *prayers*, as Dr. Macgill—

"*Vows* and prayers can save me never,
Grace alone can me deliver
From the fire that burns for ever."

or an American calling himself *Somniator*—

[1] This syllabification, by the way, is quite wrong. The feminine nature of the word gives it a false appearance of correctness; but, in fact, the *e* is not the long *e* of the Greek, but the mere silent terminal of the English, nor to be sounded any more than in the stock cases of Urbane, and the Libertines, and the Nicolaitanes. If it is to be considered Greek, the form Maria also should be used; to make half the name English and half Greek is an incongruity. However, good writers have fallen into such an error as this; *cf.* Byron—

"Thus Nature played with the stalactites,
And built herself a chapel of the seas."
The Island, iv, 7.

"All worthless are my prayers and *tears*,
But be Thou greater than my fears,
Lest flame consume my endless years ;"

or substituted one for it, as Father Aylward *cry*—

"Worthless though my feeble *cry*,
Help me, gracious Lord, or I
Burn in flames that never die,"

or some others *petition*, being particularly useful in its capacity of a rhyme for *perdition*. Dr. Robertson's line is, *Worthless all my tears and turning;* which last word thus used alone without anything to define or explain it, is hardly intelligible—but *this* had to rhyme with *burning!* Others have expanded the idea, as Archdeacon Rowan—

"Unworthy Thee my *purest* prayer,
Yet, gracious Lord, Thy servant spare,
Doomed else eternal fire to share."

The second line is well turned by Dr. Coles thus—

"My prayers are worthless, well I know,
But, good, do Thou Thy goodness shew,
And save me from impending woe,"

which verse, if *unending* were read for *impending*, might be among the best renderings. One or two others also have like expressions, as Mrs. Charles—

"All unworthy is my prayer,
Gracious One, be gracious there,
From the quenchless fire O spare."—

but on the whole the lines representing this second one are often somewhat indefinite.

In the third line I am inclined to think that the use of the word *burn* should be avoided, I mean as employed of the passive agent; it seems to have something about it of an undignified sound rather difficult to explain, and it will be remembered that the compilers of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* have altered it in Father Caswall's well-known translation of St. Francis Xavier—

"My God, I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor because they who love Thee not
Must burn eternally."

And perhaps one of the best ways of turning the verse, both so as to avoid this word and for other reasons, is something thus—

"My prayers are all unworthy Thee,
Yet of Thy goodness favor me,
Lest endless fire my portion be,"

—H. J. MACDONALD.

or thus—

"Though my prayers deserve no hire,
Yet, good Lord, grant my desire,
I may 'scape eternal fire."

—JAMES DYMOCK.

The ten-syllable triplet of the *Sacred Heart*, 1880, is thus, alluding to Mary Magdalene's prayer—

"Not that my prayers with Thee like power may claim,
But that Thy love and pity are the same
To save us from the everlasting flame."

The Lamp of 1856 has a verse containing a curious line—

"Through Thee my thoughts to heaven aspire;
Thy mercy can withstand Thine ire,
And save me from avenging fire."

Mr. Simms' line is also rather singular, *I pray, yet prayer is not my plea.* The Earl of Crawford introduces the word *Gehenna*—

"Worthless are my prayers, I know,
Yet in mercy spare me, so
Shall I 'scape Gehenna's woe,"

and one other singularity which may be noted is that of a Roman Catholic writer who plainly refers the *ignis, perennis* though it be, to purgatory—

"Worthless though my prayers, benignly
Save me by Thy grace, divinely
Stretched midst *purging* fires supinely."

—CHARLES KENT.

Line i.—Prayer or prayers, 67; petition, 3; cry, 2; supplication, pleading. Worthless, 28; unworthy, 12; vain, 2; poor, 2; weak, unavailing, imperfect, valueless.

Line ii.—Good, 5; gracious, 4; benign, 2; mild, dear.

Line iii.—Fire or fires, 23; flame or flames, 22; hell, 5; woe, 4; perdition, 3; pain, Gehenna. Endless, 18; eternal, 17; unending, 6; for ever, 6; undying, 3; quenchless, 3; deathless, 2; everlasting, 2; lasting, 1. Burning, 11.

15. Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab haedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.

To take the words as they stand before us, one would think that in the face of the text "He shall set the sheep on the right hand, but the goats on the left," there would be no hesitation in translating the verse literally. Yet for some strange reason not a few writers seem loath to use the word *goats* even where they use that *sheep*. They might have had the authority of Ben Jonson's "Elegy on Lady Digby"—

"Indeed she is not dead, but laid to sleep
In earth till the last trump awake the sheep
And goats together, whither they must come
To hear their Judge and His eternal doom."

Two writers, on the other hand, have used *goats* without *sheep*, and two for *sheep* have substituted *lambs;* much as Wiclif of old, perhaps it may be said, substituted *kids* for *goats*. Another turning not uncommon is to make the necessary distinction by contrasting the words *flock* and *herd*, usually of course with some epithet, though there is one case where they are used alone, thus—

"Midst the flock O make my station,
From the herd in separation;
At Thy right be my vocation."
—Dr. Krauth, *Philadelphia.*

One writer has the following line, as if sheep never had horns (this, however, is a little hypercritical, for there is no doubt that most men's first idea of a sheep is of a hornless beast)—

"Shepherd, midst thy flock enfold me,
Nor with *hornèd* herd behold me,
Having on Thy right enrolled me."

This is by Mr. Charles Kent. One or two other singularities are these—

"'Mongst the sheep grant me a stand,
Drive me from the goats' cursed band,
Placing me on Thy right-hand."

—Patrick Carey.

"'Mid Thy sheep be my place given,
Far the goats *from me be driven*,
At Thy right-hand fixed in heaven."

—W. R. Williams.

where the expression, strangely enough, is the exact reverse of Carey's.

Archbishop Trench well shows the simple style which here, as always, should be preferred—

"'Mid Thy sheep my place command
From the goats far off to stand;
Set me, Lord, at Thy right-hand."

Line i.—Sheep and goats, 50; sheep (alone), 7; *Thy* sheep, 37; lambs, 2; right-hand flock, 1; the flock, 1; Thy flock, 1; Thy friends, 1; chosen (subst.), 1; chosen (adj.), 3; blessed (adj.), 2; blessed (subst.), 1; favored, holy, elected.

Line ii.—Goats (alone), 3; he-goats, 1; goat-like race, 1; "goatish" band, 2; unwashed and sordid, 1; unhallowed band, unholy band, brutish band, convicted band, ungodly band, condemned band, sinful band; apostate race, wicked race; accursed line; guilty nation; cursed (subst.), vile, dark, foul, lost, evil.

Line iii.—Right-hand, 45; right-side, 2; right (alone), 15; Thy side.

16. Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis;
Voca me, cum benedictis.

In the versions of Sylvester and Drummond, and in others beside, the word *confutatis* is left untranslated. This is a piece of carelessness which the translators probably allowed themselves from failing to perceive its full force; this I imagine to be not simply that the cursed are put aside, but that they are put down by words—in short, "confuted;" that is to say, that the divine answer, "Inasmuch as ye did it not, etc.," was in Thomas of Celano's mind. It would not be easy

to express this fully in English, unless by the use of this very word *confuted;* few if any translators have adopted it in literal versions, except in one somewhat unmeaning line which I have seen, *When hard speeches are confuted.* Nor indeed is it necessary to do so; but at least the word, having a fuller meaning than many writers seem to have found upon the surface, must not be totally omitted.

A good translation is this, though hardly simple enough by reason of the duplication of epithets on the flame—

> "When the accurst are put to shame,
> Banished to fierce devouring flame,
> Then with Thy blessed call my name."
>
> —R. M'Corkle.

Line i.—Accursed or cursed, 33; wicked, 8; lost, 7; damned, 3; condemned, 3; doomed, 2; reprobate, 2; foes, 2; vile, guilty, sinners, scorners.

Line ii.—Flame or flames, 40; fire, fiery, 9; hell, 5; burning, 3; torment, tormenting, 5; devouring, 6; fierce, 6; penal, 2; direful, scorching, piercing, bitter, keen; eternal, everlasting, never-ending, never-dying, quenchless.

Line iii.—Blessed or blest, 34; saints, 9; child, children, 2; elect, chosen, ransomed, saved, redeemed.

> 17. Oro, supplex et acclinis,
> Cor contritum quasi cinis,
> Gere curam mei finis.

This last verse of the Hymn seems on the whole to have tried translators as much as any; not that there is any difficulty in the actual rendering of the words, for the two first lines at any rate are extremely clear, and there is hardly a possibility of mistake; but it seems not to have been found easy to put the simple and pathetic Latin into equally pathetic and simple English. There are indeed few versions to be found at the same time literal, simple, and correct—for there has been a very common failure, which will be mentioned directly, to see the full meaning of the last line. One of the best is Isaac Williams—

> "Suppliant, fallen, low I bend,
> My bruised heart to ashes rend,
> Care Thou, Lord, for my last end;"

the mistake is in the confusion of metaphor in the second line—you cannot turn a thing into *ashes* by *rending* it; what the original does is to *compare* the heart to ashes, but not to state how it may be imagined to have *become* such.

With regard to that word *cinis* itself, *ashes*, as it is the most common, so it is the best English; Mr. Mackellar adds the epithet *gray; clay* is not applicable, and *cinders*, though used by two or three, and even by Father Caswall, has a ludicrous sound, and besides is incorrect; *cinis* is not a cinder or cinders. Nor is it beneath our dignity to remember that though coal was of course not unknown when Thomas of Celano wrote, yet in all probability *wood*-ashes were in his mind, to which as far as I know the word *cinders* is never applied. Again, how far more dignified a simile to compare the contrite heart, the worn-down heart, to the fine powder of wood-ashes, than as Father Caswall seems to do, to the rough, hard cinder of coal! *Acclinis* I take to be not strictly speaking *prostrate*, as some have turned it; *bending*, *bowing*, *kneeling*, all of which are common enough, are nearer to the true meaning.

The mistake just mentioned which many translators have made in the last line is in limiting the meaning of *finis* to that which we commonly call death—that is, the separation of soul and body. Though this is no doubt included, *finis* is *the end* in the widest sense, *i.e.*, the doom of the soul at the Day of Judgment, which forms the whole subject of the Hymn.

Line i.—Suppliant, 20; prostrate, etc., 15; low or lowly, 15; bend, etc., 16; bow, etc., 6; kneel, etc., 4; downcast, prone.
Line ii.—Contrite, etc., 22; crushed, 11; bruised, 3; broken, 3; scorched, dry; ashes, 22; dust, 15; cinders, 3; clay, 2; embers, 1.
Line iii.—End, etc., 23; death, etc., 16.

18. Lacrimosa dies illa,
Quâ resurget ex favillâ,
Judicandus homo reus;
Huic ergo parce, Deus:
Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eis Requiem.

It has already been shown that this so-called eighteenth verse is probably not part of the original Hymn, and thus some translators

have omitted it altogether, though on the other hand more than might be expected have inserted it. But more freedom has been taken with it than with any other part, for the original metre of couplets has often been altered into the triplets of the Hymn's main body; it is perhaps a mistake to do this, for the change of metre is not without its beauty, and to give this up without a reason seems useless—musical considerations may probably in some cases have been the reason.

It is a want of exactness not to notice that the *favilla* of this eighteenth verse is of course the *favilla* of the first; Mr. Copeland's version brings this out very clearly, thus—

(First verse.)
"Day of doom, that day of ire;
Earth shall sink in crumbling fire,
. . . . . .

(Last verse.)
Day of tears, that day of ire,
Which shall from the crumbling fire
. . . . . ;"

but several writers have passed it over, and instead of *earth's* ashes have made the *favilla* to be *man's* ashes, or modified their own idea into that of a grave or tomb, or even given it some "slight poetical amplification," as the late Dr. Dykes once euphemistically described wordiness, in some such way as this—

"O that day of lamentation
When from his *dark habitation*
Man shall rise to hear his sentence;
Spare him, God, on his repentance."

The *Requiem*, as it is sometimes called *par excellence*, or the *Suspirium*, as Daniel names the last two lines, is what perhaps may be termed the most crucial point in the whole Hymn. Containing as it does, a distinct "prayer for the dead," its translation instantly shews its translator's bias. One Roman Catholic has, as in a former verse, and with even less authority, gone out of his way to introduce purgatory—

"Spare me, Lord, Thy mercy shewing,
Jesus, Thy sweet rest bestowing
On them '*mid the clean flame glowing.*"

And (a lighter comment) the professional ideas of Mr. Epes Sargent, the American barrister-poet, have been at the last too much for him, causing him to write[2]—

> "When, that day of tears impending,
> From his ashes man ascending
> *At Thy bar* shall be attendant,
> Spare him, God, *spare the defendant.*"

The best translation that I have found is both Roman Catholic and American, from the *Catholic Manual*, N. Y., 1870, where the metre is changed to a ten-syllable line, thus—

> "O bounteous Jesus, Lord for ever blest,
> Give faithful souls departed endless rest."

Mr. Simms' version on the other hand is a *six*-syllable triplet—

> "Lord Jesus, to Thy knee
> In life and death we flee;
> Vouchsafe us rest in Thee,"

and it is the solitary instance of a return to triplets after the use of couplets in agreement with the original in the first part of the verse.

Mr. Hay in his paraphrase has kept the original Latin in the last line, thus—

> "O that day of lamentation,
> When in sudden consternation
> All the doomed shall hide their face;
> Spare them, spare them, God of grace;
> Lord, we bend to Thee for them,
> *Dona eis requiem!*"

The word *requiem* alone is also used by the *Catholic Choralist*, 1842, and Mr. Thomas, 1867. For printing *Dona eos requie* to preserve the rhyme—as it were "Gift them with rest"—I can, though I have once seen it done, find no authority.

[2] In the same way Dr. Coles the physician has written—

> "When I enter death's dark portal,
> Feebly beats the *pulse aortal.*"

COMMENT ON THE "DIES IRAE."

Stanzas XI—XVIII.

XI.

Juste Judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis
Ante diem rationis.

XI.

Just Judge of vengeance,
Grant the gift of pardon
Ere the day of accounting.

XII.

Ingemisco tanquam reus,
Culpa rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

XII.

I groan like one condemned;
My face reddens with guilt;
The suppliant spare, O God.

XIII.

Qui Mariam absolvisti
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

XIII.

Who didst absolve Mary,
Who didst hearken to the thief,
To me also Thou gavest hope.

Mr. Warren interprets the line *Juste Judex ultionis:* "Just Judge of the punishment, that is, I suppose, of the proportioning of it to a man's deeds." The word *ultio* occurs in the Vulgate: "Deus ultionum Dominus, Deus ultionem libere egit. Exaltare qui judicas terram" ("The Lord is the God to whom revenge belongeth; the God of revenge hath acted freely. Lift up Thyself, thou That judgest the earth").[1] There is no need of refining with extreme precision; for the sense of the verse seems to be that of Deuteronomy (32 : 35), "Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore" ("Revenge is Mine, and I will repay in due time").

That *reus* should be rendered *condemned* rather than *accused* appears to be demanded by the verse following:—

Culpa rubet vultus meus,

in which the "defendant" (or "accused") admits the charge and is virtually "condemned" already. Besides, a mere "accusation" should not cause apprehensive groanings such as the poet pictures.

The line

Qui Mariam absolvisti

has been changed into

Peccatricem absolvisti,

perhaps for the reason that St. Luke does not name the *peccatrix* who anointed the feet of our Lord.

[1] Ps. 93 : 1, 21.

Lord Roscommon's version of this stanza:—

> Thou who wert moved by Mary's grief,
> And by absolving of the thief
> Hast given me hope, now give relief!

includes the technical word "absolving" used so frequently and in this unique sense by Catholics. In the second stanza, Roscommon renders the third verse —

> Shall have few *venial* faults to find.

Mr. Orby Shipley contended in the *Dublin Review* (January, 1883, and October, 1884) that the version ascribed to Roscommon was not improbably Dryden's in reality. He thinks that at least an "indirect argument" might be based on the words "venial" and "absolving" occurring, as we have just seen, in this version. "A further indirect argument might be raised for a non-Protestant origin of the version, from its Catholic phraseology, which will be apparent on reading, amongst other triplets, the second and thirteenth, in which the author speaks of the 'venial' faults of mankind, and of the 'absolving of the thief.' With the exception of two Protestant translators, who use the term 'shriven,' perhaps none other non-Catholic has employed the later technical phraseology. No one, probably, besides the author, has used the former in his rendering of *Dies Irae*. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that the concluding stanza of the version ascribed to Roscommon has not a Catholic tone about its rendering. 'Let guilty man compassion find' are its last words. These, of course, are no equivalent, either to the original *Dona eis requiem*, or to the other early translations—*e.g.*, 'Give rest to all departed souls' (1657), or, 'Eternal rest to them afford' (1687). In fact, the final couplet has been omitted." The other arguments by which Mr. Shipley contends for the Dryden authorship need not detain us here. They are acutely reasoned out and clearly set forth. Roscommon died in 1684; and one of the arguments made by Mr. Shipley must be revised, when he declares that the version first appeared in a volume whose preface was written in 1717, but whose title-page bears the date 1721; for the version appeared in *Miscellanea Sacra* in 1696. The discussion is very interesting and the contention is very likely a just one. In the

Preface of his *Annus Sanctus* (1884) Mr. Shipley repeats his view that the version of *Dies Irae* was in all probability wrongly attributed to Lord Roscommon.

XIV.

Preces meae non sunt dignae ;
Sed tu bonus fac benigne
Ne perenni cremer igne.

XV.

Inter oves locum praesta,
Et ab hoedis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextra.

XVI.

Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis,
Voca me cum benedictis.

XVII.

Oro supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis.

XIV.

Unworthy are my prayers :
But do Thou benignly grant that
I burn not in everlasting fire.

XV.

Amid Thy sheep appoint me a place,
And separate me from the goats,
Placing me at Thy right-hand.

XVI.

The accursed having been silenced
And given over to the bitter flames,
Call me with the blessed.

XVII.

Kneeling and prostrated I pray,
With heart broken as it were ashes,
Guard Thou my end.

The fifteenth stanza borrows its thought and phrase from our Lord's description (Matt. 25 : 32–34): "And all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats: And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left. Then shall the king say to them that shall be on his right-hand: "Come ye blessed of my Father. . . ." etc.

Versions that render *contritum* by *contrite* do not bring out sufficiently the strong figure in the word itself. *Contritus* means, of course, broken into small pieces; but the poet adds to the figure the idea of "reducing to ashes," or impalpable particles—"utterly crushed."

Apropos of this last stanza, it may be permissible to repeat the incident related by Johnson of the last moments of Roscommon, even though Johnson's information came to him at third or fourth hand: "At the moment in which he expired, he uttered, with an energy of voice that expressed the most fervent devotion, two lines of his own version of *Dies Irae* :—

'My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.'"

Crashaw's exquisite version was doubtless the inspiration for Roscommon :—

"O hear a suppliant heart all crushed
And crumbled into contrite dust!
My hope, my fear—my Judge, my Friend!
Take charge of me and of my end!"

With this seventeenth stanza ends the triplet construction of the poem, if not, indeed, the poem itself as originally written. This is therefore an appropriate place for considering the general features of the *Dies Irae*,—its carefully progressive argument, its Scriptural allusiveness, its vivid descriptiveness in the first six stanzas, and its lyric intensity in the remaining stanzas. With respect to the argument of the Hymn, we can scarcely do better than transfer to this page the words of Orby Shipley.[2]

"The popularity and appreciation of *Dies Irae*, and the reasons of both with simple and learned alike, can only, however, be intelligently estimated when, leaving the accidental form in which this divine hymn and poem is cast, we carefully examine its substance. Of course the mere perusal of it, or even a casual attention to its recitation, impresses the reader or listener with an undefined but real sense of greatness and power. He feels himself in the presence of a noble and masterly production. But, when the sequence is mentally picked to pieces, when each element is weighed, when the union and interdependence, and oftentimes the logical following of each succeeding portion, is tested—then the consummate art of the craftsman is disclosed. The very simplicity of its form becomes a mask for the intricate elaborateness of its conception and development. Its story, the incidents, the reflections, their rhythm, flow from source onward to conclusion with unruffled and unbroken continuity. But this result has been attained only by the exercise of extremest skill. In the prose for the dead there is no check, no parenthesis, no wandering from the point, no retrogression or looking backward. It begins with the end of life, it ends with the beginning of eternity. Between these limits, the legend, so to say, is self-evolved, self-contained. The great mediæval poem of the day of doom is less a series of independent pictures or detached studies than one long panorama, as it were,

[2] *Dublin Review*, 1883, p. 379.

of some mighty quick-flowing river and its scenery . . . Its imagery and scenes, its facts and events, its words and thoughts, its prayers and ejaculations, its mental records, conscience-searching questions and intellectual memories, as naturally and unaffectedly succeed each other, without a forced cohesion or inharmonious break, as the banks, and towns, and hills, and forests, and islands, and other natural features of a river scene, in a series from the lens of a magic lantern of dissolving views."

In the brief space of the first six stanzas, the prophetic picturing of the Last Judgment is given. A few bold lines on a narrow canvas (for eighteen lines must be considered as the briefest possible limits within which to paint such a picture) bring the scene of the consummation of the world before us quite as vividly as the masterpieces of painting on this subject, with their multitudinous figures crowded together even within amplest limits of space. The first stanza announces the theme (in the first line), the catastrophe (in the second), and the prophetic witness thereto, both of the Hebrew and of the pagan world (in the third line). It is a summary, majestic and marvellous, of prophecy and fulfilment, crystallized within three short lines—just twenty-four syllables—of rhymed Latin verse. It is a text, clear and compact, for what follows. The second stanza then shows us mankind "withering away for fear and expectation," as the Great Judge appears *Cuncta stricte discussurus*,—to sift everything "like as corn is sifted in a sieve" (Amos 9: 9). This coming of the Judge, to weigh everything with nicest balance, naturally suggests the summoning of mankind before that Great Assize—Death and Hell must give up their dead, and the Sea must give up the dead that are in it—and the next stanza echoes for us, in its marvellous wedding of sound to sense, the "trump of God" resounding through all the sepulchres of earth and summoning all mankind before the Throne ("And I saw a great white throne . . . and the dead both great and small, standing in sight of the throne."—Apoc. 20: 11, 12). The next stanza appropriately pictures the stupefaction of Death and Nature at seeing the innumerable dead whose final chapter had seemed, in the long tale of centuries which had passed over them without disturbing their ancient rest, to have been completely written, rising from countless graves and hurry-

ing to judgment. There at length they are all assembled, "both great and small"; and the next stanza shows us the Judge seated in terrific majesty, presiding over all the generations of men, prepared to search into their most hidden thoughts and to leave unavenged not even a single "idle word that men shall speak." And therefore, in the next stanza, appears the record of all our thoughts, words, deeds—the *liber scriptus*—the "book of life" of the Apocalypse, holding everything on which judgment is to be passed. The first part of the poem is finished—the *mise en scène* has been arranged—and the agony of one individual soul begins. What, indeed, shall it find to say at that dreadful judgment? When, as St. Peter says, "scarce the just shall be saved," what advocate shall it entreat to take up its cause and plead for it? This seventh stanza forms the bridge between the epic and the lyric in the Hymn; it connects, with the scene painted in the first six stanzas, the present cry of the soul that He who shall then appear as a rigorously just Judge shall now prove Himself a tender and forgiving Saviour. The eighth stanza accordingly presents us with this twofold character of Christ—the "Rex tremendae majestatis" in the Last Judgment, the "Fons pietatis" of the present life; and it does not present us with this two fold character in any confused way, but with almost scholastic precision refers in the first line to the awful majesty of that King (thus connecting Him with the Judgment which has just been pictured) and in the third line to the tender pity of the Saviour (which is to be the basis of the appeal that follows). The argument of the Hymn is thus evolved with exquisite carefulness, the transitions being made with logical facility as well as with rhetorical felicity. The following six stanzas develop the thought of Christ's mercy; and here again we can perceive the symmetrical and logical development of the argument. They comprise, namely, two divisions of three stanzas each, the first division dealing with the first basis on which an appeal may rest,—the labors and sufferings of Christ; the second division dealing with the second basis,—the repentance of the sinner; each division consisting, moreover, of two stanzas followed by a stanza containing an appropriate prayer. Thus, the first division begins with *Recordare, Jesu pie*, and refers to the love shown by Christ in becoming Man (*Quod*

sum causa tuae viae); the next stanza sums up the whole loving life of Christ in the literal and figurative weariness of Christ at the Well of Jacob (*Quaerens me sedisti lassus*), and the last scene of that life on the Cross (*Redemisti crucem passus*). Each of these stanzas concludes with a prayer; the third line of the first being *Ne me perdas illa die*, and of the second, *Tantus labor non sit cassus;* while they are followed by a stanza (symmetrically, like the third lines in the stanzas, a third stanza in the division) of appropriate prayer. Similarly, the second division (of three stanzas, as before), beginning with *Ingemisco tanquam reus*, and dealing with that repentance which is the second basis of an appeal for mercy, comprises three stanzas, of which the first one contains an acknowledgment of guilt, and the second points to the mercy shown by Christ to the penitent hearts of the sinful woman and the dying thief. Each of these stanzas contains, in its third line, a prayer; while the third stanza of the division is, as noted in the case of the similar third stanza of the first division, devoted wholly to prayer. Fortified now by remembrance of Christ's love (as shown in His incarnation, life and death) and His mercy (as shown to Mary and to the dying thief), the singer once more turns his gaze, in prospect, to that picture of the Last Judgment which had overwhelmed him with terror. Now, however, he looks forward with hope:

> Inter oves locum praesta,
> Et ab hoedis me sequestra
> Statuens in parte dextra.

The transition is again natural and logical; and in making it, he gives himself opportunity to sketch the last scenes of that Great Day of Wrath. The Scriptural division of the sheep from the goats is placed before us; and in the following stanza we hear the voice of Christ calling the "blessed of His Father" to heaven, and uttering an everlasting woe on the accursed. The following (and final) stanza writes, as the last word of the pathetic final line, the appropriate word *finis*.

Who can venture to say that a hymn which, within such brief limits, can present such a wealth of Scriptural allusiveness moulded into such perfect form; can state so succinctly and develop so logically its theme; can bring together, without con-

fusion of thought or blurring of impressions, such felicitous word-painting of the tremendous scene it handles and such pathetic pleadings of the heart that contemplates that scene; can condense so adequately whole tragedies and perfect prayers in the space of a single line, and can do this with the precision of a scholastic philosopher stating or proving his thesis, and at the same time with the felicitous ease of an accomplished rhetorician moving with confident gracefulness within the "narrow plot of ground" of his self-imposed poetic and stanzaic and rhymic limitations; who, indeed, can venture to say that such a hymn is not an incomparable masterpiece both of poetry and of hymnody?

XVIII.	XVIII.
Lacrimosa dies illa	Doleful is that day
Qua resurget ex favilla	Whereon shall rise from the glowing ashes
Judicandus homo reus:	Guilty man to be judged:
Huic ergo parce, Deus.	Him therefore spare, O God.
Pie Jesu, Domine,	Merciful Jesus, Lord,
Dona eis requiem. Amen.	Grant them rest. Amen.

Daniel remarks that for a time he thought that these verses had been added to the original poem in order to make it suitable for a sequence in the Mass for the dead, but that his more matured judgment considered the poem to have been written by its author as a sequence for the dead.

The Mantuan marble text did not include these three couplets, but ended with: *Voca me cum benedictis*, followed by the stanza:

Ut consors beatitatis	That amid the blessed band
Vivam cum justificatis	I may share their glory grand
In aevum aeternitatis.	In the endless Fatherland.

To these twenty-one stanzas (*i. e.*, the four introductory ones, the sixteen of the Roman missal, and this appended one) of the Mantuan marble, the editor of the Königsberg *Gesangbuch* added a further final one:

Ubi malorum levamen	There, no more by evils pressed,
In te, Jesu, mi solamen,	Jesus, on Thy loving breast
Per saeclorum saecla. Amen.	I shall find an endless rest.

The *Lacrimosa* couplets are replaced in a Brandenburg missal by:

Ne gehennae ignis laedat	Let Thy handiwork be free
Tuum plasma; sed te edat,	Of Gehenna; and in Thee
Digne semper in te credat.	Find sweet food and liberty.

And in a Vienna MS. by:

Ne me perdas, sed regnare,	Lose me not; but let me reign,
Fac cum tuis, Jesu care,	Jesus, with Thy blessed train
Et in coelis gloriare.	Who in heaven foraye remain.

What end the authors of these supplementary, or rather suppositious, stanzas sought, is not easily divined. The *Lacrimosa* couplets are not, it is true, in the stanzaic forms of the preceding strophes of the hymn; and only two of the couplets rhyme, while the last couplet has lines of only seven syllables. On the other hand, they in no wise mar the beauty of the hymn, even should we agree with some hymnologists in supposing them a mere addition made for liturgical reasons. The gradual lessening of the triple rhyming, as found in the first two couplets, together with the lessening of the metrical line in the last couplet, forms rather a quiet and pleasing cadence, or falling away from the preceding terrors.

At the *Lacrimosa* the Hæmmerlein expansion begins, Dr. Coles' translation of which may be added here for the sake of completeness:

Lachrymosa die illa,	On that day of woe and weeping,
Cum resurget ex favilla,	When, like fire from spark upleaping,
Tanquam ignis ex scintilla,	Starts from ashes where he's sleeping,
Judicandus homo reus;	Man account to Thee to render,
Huic ergo parce, Deus;	Spare the miserable offender!
Esto semper adjutor meus.	Be my helper and defender!
Quando coeli sunt movendi,	When the heavens away are flying,
Dies adsunt tunc tremendi,	Days of trembling then and crying,
Nullum tempus poenitendi.	For repentance time denying;
Sed salvatis laeta dies,	To the saved a day of gladness,
Et damnatis nulla quies,	To the damned a day of sadness,
Sed daemonum effigies.	Demon forms and shapes of madness.
O tu Deus majestatis,	God of infinite perfection,
Alme candor Trinitatis,	Trinity's serene reflection,
Nunc conjunge cum beatis.	Give me part with the election!
Vitam meam fac felicem	Happiness upon me shower,
Propter tuam genitricem	For Thy Mother's sake, with power,
Jesse florem et radicem.	Who is Jesse's root and flower.
Praesta nobis tunc levamen,	From Thy fulness comfort pour us,
Dulce nostrum fac certamen,	Fight Thou with us, or fight for us,
Ut clamemus omnes, Amen!	So we'll shout, Amen, in chorus.

It will be noticed that the Hæmmerlein text makes *huic* refer to the "first person" or the singer of the hymn; for "Esto semper adjutor meus" follows immediately. Translators refer *huic* generally to the preceding *homo reus*, Wallace referring it, however, to the corpse to be interred.

The Mantuan Marble prefixed, as we have seen, four stanzas, Dr. Irons' rendering of which is as follows:

Cogita, anima fidelis,	Think, O Christian soul and sigh—
Ad quid respondere velis	Unto what thou must reply,
Christe venturo de coelis;	When Christ cometh from the sky!
Cum deposcet rationem	When He asketh one by one,
Ob boni commissionem,	For each good deed left undone,
Ob mali commissionem.	And for every evil done.
Dies illa, dies irae,	Ah that day, for judgment sent!
Quam conemur praevenire,	May we now that day prevent—
Obviamque Deo ire;	Meet our God, and now repent!
Seria contritione,	With contrition deep and sad,
Gratiae apprehensione,	With all grace that may be had,
Vitae emendatione.	And amend our life, if bad.

As has been pointed out already, both of these additions to the Missal text must be considered as alien to the original text of the poem.[3] They need not detain us further, and have been included here merely for the sake of completeness.

Whether the six lines beginning "Lacrimosa dies illa" are older than the Missal text or were added to the Hymn for the purpose of adapting it to its liturgical function as a sequence, is a question that has been disputed on both sides. Mone, as has been shown in these papers, judges them older than the century generally considered as that of the composition of the Hymn. Mr. Warren, however, thinks the proof inconclusive. They depart, of course, somewhat violently from the stanzaic structure of the rest of the sequence, and form rhymed couplets instead of triplets, although the first two couplets retain the rhythm of the preceding verses. The last two lines depart both from the rhythm and the rhyme of the Hymn, unless we may consider the *m* of *requiem* negligible. March favors the construction—

[3] See THE DOLPHIN, November, 1904, p. 520.

Pie Jesu, Domine,
Dona eos requie,

as it consults for the rhymic quality of the sequence and is "a frequent construction with *dono*, of which an example should be in the grammars."[4] He refers for illustration to the Ven. Bede's hymn *De Natali Innocentium*, in which these lines occur :—

Donat supernis sedibus
Quos rex peremit impius.

The concluding couplet of the *Dies Irae* contains distinctly a prayer for the happy repose of the souls of the dead, and has been therefore looked at askance by many Protestant translators, who have evaded its direct rendering in various twisting fashions. Like so many other Latin hymns, the *Dies Irae* has proved too attractive for our separated brethren, and they were forced to pay it the tribute of translation, although their religious views constrain them to a makeshift as its concluding couplet. "It is not wonderful," says Trench, "that a poem such as this should have continually allured and continually defied translators;" and he refers to the letter sent by Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn, suggesting that Evelyn make a translation of it: "I was thinking to have begged of you a translation of that well-known hymn, *Dies Irae, dies illa*, which, if it were a little changed, would make an excellent divine song."[5] "If it were a little changed"—that has been the text held in mind by our separated brethren. But Mr. Orby Shipley, who as a convert to Catholicity as well as a distinguished hymnologist could look at such a treatment of the Hymn from the double standpoint of his previous and his subsequent religious convictions, has not a kind word for the revisers of the Hymn. "Perhaps the main point of hostile criticism which in any case demands a protest at our hands, and which may first be stated, though it comes last in order of time, is one which most unfavorably impresses a Catholic reader of many Protestant translations. It is this, the manner, unjustifiable in morals and false in criticism, in which the concluding couplet of *Dies Irae* is either tampered

[4] *Latin Hymns*, p. 261.

[5] Quoted in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry* from *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, Eden's Ed.

with, or mistranslated. This course is often adopted by authors who do not boldly and more honestly omit from their rendering the couplet altogether. Under the circumstances, simple omission would be commendable by comparison with the more usual method of making Thomas of Celano speak in English like a Protestant, rather than, as he really speaks, in universal accents, the faith of a Catholic. At least twelve or thirteen of these thirty-two translations (including fragments) either omit the *Dona eis requiem*, or, to use the received term amongst Anglican editors of Catholic devotions and biography, not to speak of theology, 'adapt' it—which phrase, being interpreted, means to make a deliberate mistranslation. There are, however, noble exceptions to this category. . . . But, even then, a fresh difficulty in ethics arises, which may be named, but which it is no business of the writer to attempt to solve. How can one, being a Protestant, who is loyal to his own communion, become an accomplice to the singing, in a hymn before God, of words the meaning and tenor of which have been systematically and avowedly expunged in prose from the public worship of his persuasion—such words involving Catholic prayer for the dead and the implied doctrine of purgatory? It is also noteworthy that some translators, from whom (even at the cost of moral consistency) we should expect at least a Catholic-worded remembrance of the faithful departed, have disappointed us: whilst others, from whom we should expect less, have given us more."[6] Dr. Coles, who prints the Latin text,[7] omits the concluding couplet, and of course gives no English rendering of it. Thus, too, the seven versions in Judge Nott's volume omit the couplet, with the exception of Dr. Irons', which makes the couplet a prayer uttered by the living for their own eternal rest:—

> Lord, who didst our souls redeem,
> Grant a blessed requiem! Amen.

Hymns Ancient and Modern comes out boldly with a revision of Dr. Irons' couplet:

> Lord, all-pitying, Jesus blest,
> Grant them Thine eternal rest. Amen.

[6] *Dublin Review*, April, 1883, p. 371.
[7] *Dies Irae in Thirteen Original Versions.*

This change, which is really the version of Isaac Williams (appearing first in 1834 as a translation of the Paris Missal text, *Crucis expandens vexilla*), had already been adopted by other Protestant hymnals. In this connection it may be noted as a curious fact that our own authentic prayer-book, the Baltimore *Manual of Prayers*, which uses the version of Dr. Irons, retains the mistranslation of the last couplet, while *Hymns Ancient and Modern* revised it, properly, by taking Williams' translation. It is a perfect rendering of the Catholic thought of the original, and a Catholic can not but feel gratified that in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, whose annual sales run up, it is said, into the million mark, the true translation should be so widely spread. So, too, the Rev. Mr. Copeland's version renders the thought correctly:

> Prince of pity, Jesu blest,
> Lord and Saviour, give them rest.

More direct still, if possible, is the rendering by "O" in the *Christian Remembrancer* (1825):

> Saviour, listen while we plead,
> We, the living, for the dead.

The thought of the original is also retained, in the very words of the Hymn, in the translation of William Hay, in the *Bengal Annual* (1831):

> Lord, we bend to Thee for them,
> Dona eis requiem!

All of these correct versions illustrate the hunger of humanity for a prayerful remembrance of the dead, and are a direct tribute to Catholic doctrine by Protestant writers. And so the Rev. J. Anketell moralizes in the *American Church Review* (1873, p. 206), when describing an incident that happened during his missionary stay in Dresden. By the explosion of fire damp in a mine some six miles from that city, three hundred unfortunates perished. One of the many charitable undertakings for the relief of their families was a sacred concert in a Lutheran church in Dresden, at which Mozart's *Requiem* was sung with full orchestral accompaniment: "It would be vain to attempt," wrote Mr. Anketell, "to describe in words the effect of the *Dies Irae* on that occasion.

Many were moved to tears, and when the splendid basso commenced his solo:

> Tuba mirum spargens sonum
> Per sepulchra regionum,

and the clarion notes of a trumpet accompanied his voice, one could well imagine that the final doom was about to be pronounced! Toward the close of the hymn,

> Voca me cum benedictis!

a golden ray of light from the declining sun came shooting through the stained windows and fretted aisles. . . . Passing strange was it to hear, in that Protestant church, the sound of a requiem for the dead. But hardened indeed, in its prejudices, must have been the heart which could not have joined in the prayer:

> Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine,
> Et lux perpetua luceat eis."

The Rev. Mr. Anketell was a Protestant minister; and the prayer in which, as he thought, only a heart hardened by its prejudices could have refused to join, is a prayer for the happy repose of the souls of the dead. He can not have been insensible to the doctrinal point involved, for he takes his quotation, not from the Hymn itself, but from another part of the liturgy of the Requiem Mass. The thought in both is identical; but his quotation serves to emphasize strongly the liturgical character of the Hymn and the uncompromising Catholicity of its concluding couplet. Death is not the Divider, but the Reuniter; and Protestants will continue to utter for the dead a couplet of the great Hymn that illustrates a devotion wholly Catholic as it is wholly beautiful, and as human as it is divine.

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Student's Library Table.

RECENT SCIENCE.

Uranium, Mother of Metals.—It was the custom till quite recently to laugh at the philosophers and physical scientists of the centuries before the nineteenth for thinking that such a thing as a transmutation of metals was possible. It was practically a universal belief that almost any metal might by natural processes after a sufficient length of time be converted into any other. Even so distinguished and so recent a scientific genius as Newton was a firm believer in the possibility of transmutation. To a friend about to visit certain copper mines on the Continent, Newton suggested less than two hundred years ago that the friend might find it especially to his advantage to study the process of transmutation *in situ* in some of the copper mines. The English mathematician advanced as a proof of the fact that such change must take place, some specimens in the museum at Cambridge in which gold was present in connection with copper, and in which therefore it seemed that the transforming process had, to a limited degree at least, taken place.

Even at the present time, there are not a few who would laugh at this idea of Newton's, but they are not the ones who know most of the present position of chemical science. If there is one doctrine that has been revolutionized completely within the last few years, it is the supposed individuality of the so-called chemical elements and the assumed impossibility of their ever being transformed into one another. Most of the newer opinion in the matter has come as the result of studies of the radio-active metals and especially of uranium, radium, and helium. As has been recently remarked, Uranus, after whom uranium received its name, was in the old mythology the father of all the gods. Recent results of investigation with regard to uranium would seem to show that the designation given this substance was much more appropriate than perhaps the discoverer ever dreamt. There